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HISTORY OF MUSLIM RULE IN TIRHUT

(1206-1765 A. D.)

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BY
RADHAKRISHNA CHOUDHARY

Principal,
Shankar Sah Vikramashila College, Golgong (Bihar)



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PREFACE

For the first time an attempt has been made through these pages to give an account of the history of Muslim rule in Tirhut (1206-1765 A. D.) and in that sense it can be called a pioneer work. During the period under review Tirhut played a very important part in the history of North-Eastern India and the Hindu Kingdom of this region (C. 1097-1532 A. D.) was just like an island in the vast ocean of Muslim dominated area of North India. Even after 1532 A. D., the Kingdom of Tirhut had an autonomous status and the Muslims of the land opposed tooth and nail the establishment of Mughal ascendancy in this region. The story of this struggle is narrated here on the basis of all the available sources. North Bihar, as Tirhut is usually known, has so far been neglected and I hope that the present work will stimulate further studies on the subject. I am thankful to my teacher, Professor Syed Hasan Askari, who spared no pains in going through the book. No amount of word can express my deep sense of gratitude to him. I crave the indulgence of my readers for my shortcomings, Plates could not be incorporated due to certain unavoidable and technical reasons and for that omission, I beg to be excused.

Caitra Sankrānti }
1970

Radhakrishna Choudhary

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Abbreviations and Bibliography

<i>ATF (S)</i>	—Tārikh-i-Firuz-Shahi-Aḥf. (S. Gupta edn.).
<i>AT</i>	—Ain-i-Tirhut of Bihari Lal.
<i>Annals</i>	—Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
<i>ADB</i>	—An account of the district of Bhagalpur (Buchanan).
<i>ADP</i>	—An account of the district of Purnea (Buchanan)
<i>AA</i>	—Ain-i-Akbari (Edn. 1870, 1910, 1927 and 1949).
<i>AN</i>	—Akbar-nāmā (Translated by Beveridge).
<i>AN (S)</i>	—Akbar-nāmā (S. Gupta edition).
<i>AGN</i>	—Ālamgīr-nāmā.
<i>BI</i>	—Banglār Itihas (R. D. Banerjee).
<i>BPP</i>	—Bengal, Past and Present.
<i>BG</i>	—Bhagalpur Gazetteer.
<i>Briggs</i>	—Rise of Muslim Power in India (Feristha).
<i>BA (S)</i>	—Badauni-Akbar (S. Gupta edn.).
<i>BUJ</i>	—Bihar University Journal.
<i>BMI</i>	—Mithilā Bhāṣāmāya Itihāsa (M. Bakshi).
<i>CS</i>	—Current Studies (Patna).
<i>CR</i>	—Calcutta Review.
<i>CHI</i>	—Cambridge History of India.
<i>CB</i>	—History of Bihar (R. K. Choudhary).
<i>DMA</i>	—Makhzan-i-Afgani (Tr. by Dorn).
<i>DG</i>	—Darbhanga Gazetteer.
<i>DA</i>	—Allivardi and his times (K. K. Datta).
<i>ED</i>	—History of India as told by her own historians (Elliot & Dowson).
<i>EIM</i>	—Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.
<i>EI</i>	—Epigraphia Indica.
<i>FA</i>	—Fatuhāt-i-Ālamgiri.
<i>GPP</i>	—Vidyāpati's Puruṣaparikṣā (edited by Grierson)
<i>HSAB</i>	—Statistical account of Bengal (Hunter).
<i>HMT</i>	—The Rise and Fall of Muhammad-bin-Tugluq (Mahdi Hussain).

- IHQ** —Indian Historical Quarterly.
- IA** —Indian Autiquary.
- JBORS** —Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
- JBRS** —Journal of the Bihar Research Society.
- JASB** —Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- JOT** —Journal of Oriental Thought.
- JIH** —Journal of Indian History.
- JOHRS** —Journal of Orissa Historical Research Society.
- LAB** —Al Badaoni - Muntakhabu - T - Tawarikh (Tr. Lowie).
- LAB (S)** — Do — (S. Gupta edition).
- LSI** —Linguistic Survey of India (Grierson).
- MEI** —Eastern India (Montgomery Martin).
- MN** —Muzzaffarnama.
- MT** —Bayāz of Mulla Taqia.
- MTV** —Mithilā Tattva Vimarśa.
- MG** —Monghyr Gazetteer.
- MA** —Akhbārāt-i-Darbari-Moalla (Akhbārāt).
- MD** —Mithilā Darpan (Rasbehari Das).
- Mithilā ka Rajanitika Itihāsa—(Maithili)—R. K. Choudhary.**
- Mithilā ka Sanskritik Itihāsa—(Maithili)—R. K. Choudhary.**
- NDC** —Nepal Darbar Catalogue (Śāstrī).
- PIHC** —Proceedings of Indian History Congress.
- PIHRC** —Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission.
- PAIOC** —Proceedings of All India Oriental Congress.
- PG** —Purnea Gazetteer.
- PASB** —Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- PUJ** —Patna University Journal.
- Poems** —Aurangnāmā.
- RV** —Rāghava Vijayāvali (Kṛṣṇa Kavi).
- Riyāz** —Riyāz-us-Salatin.
- RAMT** —Al Badaoni (Tr. by Ranking).
- ST** —History of Tirhut (S. N. Singh).
- SHB** —History of Bengal, Vol. II.—(Edited by Sir Jadunāth Sarkar).
- SB** —History of Bengal (Stewart).

- SIA —India of Aurangzeb (Jadunath Sarkar).
 SA —Aurangzeb (Jadunath Sarkar).
 SMJ —The life of Mir Jumla (Jagdish Narain Sarkar).
 Siyar —Siyar-ul-Mutakherin (Gholam Hossain).
 SFME —Fall of the Mughal Empire (Jadunath Sarkar).
 SIH (S) —Studies in Indian History (S. Gupta edn.).
 TM —History of Mithilā (Upendra Thakur).
 TN —Tabaqat-i-Nasiri (Minhāj).
 TMS —Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (Text).
 TFS (B) —Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi (Barni).
 TA —Tabaqat-i-Akbari.
 TKL (B) —Tarikh-i-Khan Jahan Lodi (S. Gupta edn.).
 TB (S) —Tuzuk-i-Bābari (S. Gupta edn.)
 TS —Tarikh-i-Shah Shujai.
 TP —Chronicles of Pathan Kings (Thomas).
 VQ —Vishwabharati Quarterly.
 WEAB —Early annals of English in Bengal (Wilson).
 Yusuf —Yusul-Ahwal-i-Alivardi Khan (Yusuf Ali Khan).
 ZNA —Zafarnama-i-Alamgiri.
 Holwell —*Interesting Historical Events*.
 Gladwin —*A narrative of the Transactions in Bengal*
 (based mainly on Salimullah's '*Tarikh-i-Bangāla*').
 Parker —*The War in India*
Maharāṣṭrapurāṇa
 Ram Krishna,
 Mookherjee —*The Rise and Fall of the East India Company*
 Aitchison —*Treaties and Sanads*
 A. Broome —*History of the Rise and Progress of the*
Bengal army
 Malcolm —*Life of Clive*
Calendar of Persian Correspondence
 P. V. Kane —*History of the Dharma śāstra*
 Lal Kavi —*Kandarpi ghāta ka Larai*
 Elphinstone —*History of India*
 Beni Prasad —*History of Jahangir*
 —*Bengal under Jahangir* (in *JIH*-XI. 3; XIII.
 3; XIV. 1)

- Gladwin — *The History of Jahangir*
 T.K. Rai Coudhary — *Bengal under Akbar and Jahangir*
 Kamgar Khan — *Maasir-i-Jahangir* (Edited by Thakur Ram-singh in *JIH*-1928-29)
 Mutmād Khan — *Iqbāl-humā*
 W. Francklin — *History of the reign of Shah Alam*
 W. H. Moreland — *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*
 K. G. Warty — *Under the Great Moghuls*
 Hill — *Bengal*-3 volumes
Mashir (Urdu journal of Patna)
 Lanepool — *History of Medieval India*
 Ishwari Prasad — *History of Medieval India*
 Caunter, Elphins-
 tone and Lanepool — *Nurjahan and Jahangir*
 Rogers and
 Beveridge — *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*
 K. R. Qanungo — *Darasikoh Shersshah*
 S. K. Banerjee — *Humayun Badshah*
 V. A. Smith — *Akbar the Great Mughal*
 Rai Choudhary Ma-
 zumdar & Datta — *Advanced History of India*
Tarikh-i-Daudī
Wakiat-i-Mustaqi
The English Factors in India
 Khafi Khan — *Muntakhabu-l-Luab* (S. Gupta edn.)
Travels of Bernier
Champanan Settlement Report
Muzzaffarpur Settlement Report
Purnea Settlement Report
 Peter Mundy — *Travels*
 Crooke — *Tribes and Castes North Western frontier province*
Travels of Travenier
 Malcolm — *Memoirs of Central India*
 Mill — *British India*
 G. D. College Bulletin Nos. 2, 3, 4,
 K. K. Datta — *The Dutch in Bengal and Bihar*
 Sarkar and Datta — *Text Book of Modern Indian History*
 Mithilānka *edited by Surendra Jha 'Suman'*

- Ayodhyā Prasad —*History of Darbhanga* (in Urdu)
 Crooke —*Popular Religion*
 Dalton —*Ethnology of Bengal*
 Rahul Sāṅkrityāyan—*Puratattva Nivandhābali*
 H. C. Rai —*Dynastic History of Northern India*
 Chatterjee & Misra—*Varṇanaratnākara*
 D. R. Regmi —*Ancient and Medieval Nepal; also History of Nepal, 4 Vols.*
 Lanepool —*Catalogue of the Indian Coins of the Sultans of Delhi*
 R. B. Whitehead —*Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum*
 H. Nelson Wright —*The Coinage and Metereology of the Sultans of Delhi*
 C. J. Brown —*The Coins of India*
 S. Jha —*'The Songs of Vidyāpati'*
 Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India
 Vidyāpati —*Durgābhaktitarāṅgiṇī*
 J. K. Misra —*History of Maithili Literature*
 Ahmad Yadgar —*Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afgānā* (S. Gupta edn).
 Erskine —*Babar and Humayun*
 Rose —*Glossary*
 Dorn —*History of the Afgans*
 Darbhanga Settlement Report
 Eggelling —*Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscript*
 Shyam Kavi —*Dohāvali*
 R. K. Choudhary —(i) *History of Maithili Literature* (unpublished)
 (ii) *Mithila in the age of Vidyapati*
 Virendra Shrivastava—*Apabhramśa Sahitya Ka Itihāsa*.
 Irfan Habib —*Agrarian system of the Moghuls*.
 Proceedings of the Seminar on 'Periodisation' held under
 the auspices of the Department of History, Patna University,
 Patna 1967.



HISTORY OF MUSLIM RULE IN TIRHUT

(1206-1765 A. D.)





CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I

The Arab invasion of Sindh has been characterised as a triumph without any result in the general scheme of Indian history. From 711 to 1206 A. D., the Muslim *Introductory* invaders made successive efforts to conquer a part or parts of the Indian territory and they were crowned with success in many cases. Their eastward expansion till the close of the 12th century A. D. was more of a nature of raid though we have a reference to the *Turuṣka-ḍaṇḍa* in the Gahaḍawāla records.¹ It has been held by some that long before Bakhtyar, the people of Maner were paying Turk's duty.² Even when the countries from Puruṣapura (Peshawar) to Assam were directly or indirectly under the control of the Muslims, Mithilā³ was the only country in north-eastern India having an independent Hindu kingdom, though surrounded, on all sides, by rival muslim powers.⁴ The light of independence was flickering in its last gasp in Mithilā, where refugee scholars and saints flocked for safety. Mithilā received these saints and scholars like an affectionate mother embracing her afflicted offsprings. It was in appreciation of these facts that the late Mr. M. M. Chakravarti observed—"During the three centuries and half that followed the Mussalman invasion of Bengal, sanskritic studies flourished considerably in the adjoining land of Mithilā and were fostered by several of its kings. These studies stimulated the revival of Sanskrit learning in Bengal."⁵ Even after stray inroads,

1. *JBORS*. II. (1916)—'The Maner copperplate of Govindashandra.'
2. *PAIOG*. (Patna)—VI. p. 124 ff.
3. For the boundary of Mithilā Cf. *ST* and *TM* introductory chapters. My 'study' covers the boundary given therein.
4. *BI*. II. p. 130.
5. *JASB*. XI. (1915—N. S.) p. 407.

Mithilā, on the whole, escaped the ravages, felt in other parts of India. The Muslim campaign finally gave a death blow to the last flickering light of independence in Mithilā in 1324. Mithilā was annexed to the Delhi Sultanate.

A study of this period is not only interesting but instructive as well. The expansion of Muslim power permanently affected the destiny of North India. This career of aggressive imperialism was started afresh in the 13th century. The reasons, for Mithilā being independent for a pretty long time, are not far to seek. The Muslim governors of Oudh, Lakhanāuti and Bihar were so pre-occupied with their internal dissensions or otherwise that they had hardly any time to attack Mithilā. In those days of unsettled political life, rebellions were not few and far between. These uncertain events occupied most of the time of these governors in their own areas, leaving practically little time for them to turn their attention to the independent and docile kingdom, as is evinced by the meek and non-aggressive policy of the Karnātas of Mithilā, with the possible exception of Nānyadeva and Harsimhadeva. Over and above these, there were some natural difficulties, not very serious indeed, as the ambitious princes showed by conquering this territory. The so-called natural difficulties have been unnecessarily magnified by Chakravarti.¹ He has, no doubt, rightly hinted at the correct point that "while for inroads of conquest, neither Oudh nor Lakhanauti, was near enough to form a strong base." So long as a strong base was not there, Mithilā was independent, but in no time she had to be subjected to various inroads from east and west till her final conquest in 1324 A. D.

II

For the period, under review, we have no connected history of Tirhut and the sources, too, are very meagre. The reasons for the absence of material are that the fate of
Sources Tirhut, in most cases, was closely linked up with Bengal or Delhi as for few hundred years it lay on the highway between Delhi and Bengal. In the absence

1. *JASB.* XI, 408.

of any positive and classified source material, we have to piece together a connected link of history from various conflicting sources. The only reliable source for the study of our period of Tirhut history in the *Bayāz* of Mullā Taqia, a courtier of Akbar, but that also is not available in its entirety. Naturally, we have to ransack the volumes of muslim historical literature to get at the truth and thereby construct the history of the period with some amount of certainty. It is sure that Mullā Taqiā must have based his accounts on the then authentic sources now lost to us. A slight reference to the invasion of Mithilā by Ghiyāsuddīn Tughluq is found in a rare manuscript, now preserved in the British Museum and also in the Leningrad Museum, entitled *Basātinuluns*. We have casual references to Tirhut in the *Tabāqat-i-Nasiri*, *Tārikh-i-Firuz Shāhi* (Zia Bārni and Afif), Badaoni's *Muntakhaw-ut-Tawārikh*, Razqu'llah's *Waqiāt-i-Mushtaqui*, Ahmadyādgar's *Tārikh-i-Salātini Afghāna*, Makhzān-i-Afghāns, *Bābarnāmā*, *Aini Akbari*, *Akbaranāmā*, Gholam Hussain's *Siyar-ul-Mutekherin*, Salim's '*Riyāz-us-Salatin*' Yusuf's *Ahwāl-i-Alivardi*, *Muzzaffarnāmā*, by Karam Ali partly translated by Sir Jadunāth and various other works of the period, mentioned at proper places in this book.

Among the traditional sources, we have the following :—
 Mm. Parmeswar Jha—"Mithilā-Tattva-Vimarṣa" Rāsbehāri Dās—
 "Mithilā Darpaṇa," Bihāri Lāl, "Aini Tirhut," Mm. Mukund Jha Bakshi, "Mithilā Bhāṣāmaya Itihās," Lālkavi's ballad on the battle of *Kandarpī Ghāt*. Besides these, there are many others, written in different periods, at the command of the ruler. Mm. Jha preserves an account of the history of Mithilā, based mostly on hearsay evidence, of little historical value. He takes recourse mostly to literary sources but his findings are confusing. We cannot call it a sober history. Dāsa's work, otherwise very important, is full of errors with regard to dates and historical information. Bihāri Lāl's account is a repetition of the old traditional history. It is important in the sense that it gives a long list of Muslim families who came and settled in Tirhut. Bakshi's account is more in the nature of a *prastāvi* than a sober history. Besides these, the writers and poets of Mithilā make stray references to their rulers and their exploits.

Various colophons of the manuscripts, discovered in Mithilā, contain important historical references. Among the published works, we have the books, viz., (a) S. N. Singh—*'History of Tirhut'* and (b) Dr. Upendra Thākur—*'History of Mithilā,'* Vol. I, and R. R. Diwakar (edited), *Bihar through the Ages* and R. K. Choudhary's *History of Bihar*.—These three works contain a short account of the history of Muslim rule. Ayodhya Prasad's *'Darbhanga Kā Itihās,'* has been referred to by some writers, but I have not seen the work. Mullā Taqīā's account has been published in the "*Maāsir*" (Patna) in 1946, and in maithili in '*Mithilā*' (now defunct) in 1953.

Besides these works, we have a number of research contributions, in this field, by the eminent scholars of east and west. It was Prof. Blochmann, in the 19th century, who, first of all, presented a scientific study of the subject. The method initiated by him, was not continued with the result that a large part of material vanished. Hitherto Blochman's "*Contributions to the geography and history of Bengal*"¹ is unique and has not been surpassed so far as mastery of scientific presentation is concerned. He practically laid the foundation of future research. Another important contribution in this field of study was H. Raverty's "*Reply to Blochmann's contribution to the geography and history of Bengal.*"² These two important contributions, combined with the following articles of Professor Syed Hasan Askari, throw a ray of light on the history of Muslim rule in Bihar including Tirhut. Askari's contributions are :— (1) *Bihar during the Turko-Afgan period*³— (2) *Bihar during the time of two Lodi Sultāns*,⁴— (3) *Bihar under Bābar and Humayun*⁵— (4) *Bihar in the time of Akbar*⁶— (5) *Bihar in the first quarter of the seventeenth century*⁷— (6) *Bihar during the*

1. JASB. 1873. p. 209 ff.

2. Ibid. p. 331 ff.

3. GS. (Patna)—1954.

4. JBRS. XLI. Part 3.

5. GS. (1957)—p. 1-26.

6. BPP. LXIV-V.

7. PIHC. VI—(1943).

time of *Shāhjahān*,¹ (7) Bihar during the time of *Aurāngzab*,² (8) Bihar during the first quarter of the 18th century or during the time of *Azimussān*³. His various other articles, on Bihar history, published in the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society and Bengal, past and present*, are important for the study of our period. Prof. Askari's articles make casual reference to Tirhut and hence the necessity of a separate work like the present one. The study of the history of Tirhut has suffered at the hands of scholars, not because of their inability but because of the lack of coherent sources on the subject. Askari's illuminating studies on Bihar have laid the foundation of a sober history for those who want to make further research on the subject. Dr. K. K. Datta's '*Allivardi and his times*' is also helpful for the study of the period, under review. The writer, of these lines has in his own humble way done something in this field.⁴

III

It has been pointed out that Tirhut lies on the highway between Delhi and Bengal. Through Mithilā lay the highway communication. Bengal's strategic point against any land attack from the western side was the narrow pass of Teliāgarhi near Rājmahal. North of this point, it was very easy for armies to march from Bengal towards Tirhut and Oudh along the north bank of the Ganges crossing Kośi and Gandak at some convenient ford. Hence the name "Gateway to Bengal" given to Darbhanga of the Tirhut dis-

1. Ibid, Madras Session.

2. *JBRs*. 1946-47.

3. *PIHC*.--Hyderabad Scssion.

4. My own contributions are :--(i) *The Karnātas of Mithilā* (*Annals-XXXV*), (ii) *The Maheshwārā Inscription of the time of Ruknuddin Kaikus* (*Ibid*--XXXVI), (iii) *The Oimwāras of Mithilā* (*JBRs*-XL, Part 2), (iii) *Vidyāpati's Puruṣaparikṣā, an important source of India's political history* (*JOT*-vol. I.), (iv) *Bhagirathpur Inscription* (*PIHC*-18th session) (iv) *History of Begusarai* ; (vi) *The Chakwaras of Begusarai* and (vii) "*Tirhut Ka Sankshipta Rajnītik Itihas, and the articles published in the G. D. College Bulletins.*

trict.¹ Minhāj names Bihār, Tirhut and Darbhanga separately.² Bihārī Lāl holds that the name Darbhanga came into use during the reign of Ghiyāsuddhin Tughluq,³ who cleared the jungles and named it Darbhanga. There is no clear indication about the actual name and the date of the foundation of the city, but it is sure that it cannot be named after Darbhanga Khān. Darbhanga in Tirhut lay on the highway and hence its importance in the history of medieval India. It would be interesting to find out why Tirhut was selected as the route of expansion in the medieval period. A short study of the importance of routes in Tirhut is given below to enable us to understand the importance of Tirhut during our period.

Lakhnāuti, during the time of Muhammad Bakhtiyār, was roughly bounded on the north by a north easterly straight line from the town in Purnea⁴ via Devakot to the town of Rangpur; on the east and south-east by the Tistā and Kārayā; on the south by the main stream of the Ganges, and on the west by the lower course of the Kośi and from its mouth across the Ganges to the Rājmahal hills.⁵ All through the medieval period, Kośi was regarded as the indisputable boundary between Tirhut and Bengal. The traditional boundary always claimed by the muslim rulers of Bengal and recognised by the Delhi Emperors down to Bābur was the river Gaṇḍak⁶ on the northern bank of the Ganges. It is, therefore, desirable that we should pause, in this connection to discuss here, in brief, the river system of North Bihar.

-
1. *SHB*, II, p. 5.—Sircar's '*Bengal*' should be studied critically along with Prof. Askari's review in the *JASB* (Letters)—XVI, p. 57 ff.—Askari Says—"Bihar has not received its due share of attention" (p. 59).
 2. *TN*—The mention of Darbhanga in *TN*, is indicative of the fact that it is at least, as old as the 12th-13th century.
 3. *AT*, p. 13 cf.—Ayodhya Prasad—*History of Darbhanga* (in Hindi).
 4. Purnea is considered to be a part of Tirhut on linguistic and cultural grounds.
 5. *SHB*, pp. 12-13.
 6. *Ibid*, p. 13, Fn. 1 and 2.

Besides the Ganges and the Gaṇḍak, Kośī¹ is the most important of all the rivers of North Bihar. Kośī, a river of sorrow, had been the determining factor so far as the communication in pre-modern transport era is concerned. The tract round the mouth of Kośī is placed between Monghyr and the land of the Pundras and in the *Epics*, the āsrama of Ṛṣi Sṛṅga is placed on the river Kośī.² According to Buchanan Hamilton, the river proceeded from Chatrā to the eastward and joined the Ganges far below. Martin holds that the "change seems to have been very gradual.....nor will be complete until the channel north from the island of Khawāspur has become dry or dead."³ Even the medieval folk songs preserve an account to the effect that the river flowed in Tirhut.⁴ Van Den Brouck's map of 1660 says—"The Karatoya.....was the bed not only of the Tistā but of the Kośī..... It is well known that the Kośī formed the eastern.....boundary of the Bihār portion of Purnea." Ali Mardan crossed it in 1209⁵ and Firuz Shāh Tughluq in 1354. Subsequently it discharged its water past Tāṇḍā, and finally in Akbar's time flowed into Rājmahal. It separated Bengal from Bihār and Tirhut. In Akbar's time, the list of *mahāl*, east to this river

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1. For Kośī, the following sources are important.

(a) The *Rāmāyāna* :—*Ādikāṇḍa*-34-V. 7-11 ; canto 9-11 ; *Kiṣkindhā*—canto 40—Verse 20, etc.

(b) The *Mahabhārata*—*Ādi*, 71, 216 ; *Vana*-84, 87, 110-13 ; *Bhīṣma*-8 ; *Sabhā*-30 etc.

—A number of the *Purāṇas* is informative in so far Kośī is concerned. The *Cosmothes* of Arrian, identified with Kośī, was a tributary of the Ganges. For reference in *Kālidāsa*—Cf. my Paper, "*Bihar in Kālidāsa's works.*" (*JBRs*-XLI. Part 2).

2. It is identified with the Singeshwarasthān (Originally Sṛṅgeśwara) in Madhipura subdivision of the district of Saharsa. The temple is on the site of Ṛṣi Sṛṅga situated on the Kośī river known as *Satokhari* and *Parwāne*, which lay on the route to Purnea.
3. *MEI*. III-15.
4. Writer's—'*Kosi Songs*' (*The SPARK*—).
5. *TN*. (Raverty). p. 578.

was included in Sarkār Purnea and to the west of the river in Sarkār Monghyr. According to Rennell's *Atlas*, the river entered Purnea a little over Nāthpur, and flowing between Birnagar and Purnea, fell into the Ganges, twelve miles west of Kārāgolā.¹ F. A. Shillingford holds that the bed of the Kośī river oscillates over a vast tract of country from the Brahmaputra to near the mouth of the Gaṇḍak.² During the time of Saif Khan, Governor of Purnea, (1731), the Kośī, probably, joined the Ganges near Manihārī Ghāt.³

The tract between the Kośī and the Kamlā is about sixty-five miles in width. The Balān, the central and the largest of about a dozen streams which intersect Purnea from north to south, runs along the summit of two great plains which slope from it downwards towards the two marginal rivers.⁴ About the Gaṇḍak, Captain Jeffreys observed—"In Bihār, it is the characteristics of all rivers north of the Ganges that they run on ridges of high ground."⁵ The Kośī receives the Gogri river which comes down from North Monghyr and has two large tributaries like Tiljugā and Bāgmatī from Saharsa and Darbhanga districts. The Kosi has to discharge not only the water it brings from Purnea and Nepāl but also the drainage of North Monghyr, Saharsa and Darbhanga and hence the high flood, occasionally referred to in contemporary sources. Tiljugā receives first affluent, the Balān, from Tirhut at Rasiari.⁶ Near Tilkeśwara, the Dhemurā falls into the Tiljugā.

1. *Plates*—XV and V.—The old Kośī branched off from the main stream on the east below Jagdar, eighteen miles north-east of Birnagar, flowed south-east and crossing the Purnea-Birnagar road six miles west of Purnea town, fell into the "Cossy" branch of the Ganges below Nawabganj, fourteen miles east of Kārāgolā by road. Also, see my account in my contribution to the History Section of the *Saharsa Gazetteer* and *Darbhangā Gazetteer* (New edition).
2. *JASB*-1895.
3. It is said that he crossed the Kosi and gained the battle of Birnagar over Bir Shah and acquired the parganas of Dharampur, Gorari, Nāthpur, Dhaphar and added them to Purnea, Cf. New edition of the Purnea Gazetteer.
4. *PG*, p. 30.
5. *Ibid*. p. 26—In his report on the Gaṇḍak canal.
6. *BG*, p. 5.

Parwāne and Talābe had conjunction at Singheshwarasthān.¹ The Gaṇḍak passes through Sāran, Champaran, Muzzaffarpur, Darbhanga and falls into the Ganges in North Monghyr near Gogri Jamālpur.² These were the main water routes navigable throughout the year.

Through these riverine tracts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr, lying north of the Ganges, lay the highway communication between Bengāl and Oudh down to the middle of the 14th century A. D. Martin describes Nārāyānpur (Jalālgarh) in the Purnea district as the frontier outpost of Kośi side. Diyār-i-Koe or Narankoe may be taken as mistake for Diyār-i-Kośi.³ In the north-west, the frontier of Bengal extended but little beyond the Kośi river. Blochmann holds that under some of the early muhammdan governors and independent kings, "the Bengal empire included all upper Bihar north of the Ganges, as far as Sāran. Illyās founded Hājipur on the Gaṇḍak. Firuz on his return from Bengal, appointed for the first time imperial collectors in Tirhut. Sikandar Shah's coins,⁴ again, have been found far west of Kośi." Sarkār Purnea was spread over Bengāl and Bihār. In the Van Den Broucke's map, the whole Himalayan tract from northern Bihar to Assam is called "*Tryk Van Ragiawarra*," or the realm of the Rājwārā, consisting of several separate countries and of these one is Morang.⁵ We have in Rennell's map (1779) an area of Nepal Terai spread⁶

1. It lay on the main routes and till recently, i.e., before the ravages of the Kosi, there was a road between Darbhanga and Purnea via Singheswara and another between Bihpur (in Bhagalpur) and Birpur (in Nepal) Via Singheswara. The latter route is, again, being made concrete by the Government of India. The proposed lateral road in north Bihar is nothing but a revival of the old historical routes.
2. *HASB.* XV, 21.
3. *MEI.* III, 82. ; cf. *PG.* 189-90-for Jalālgarh.
4. *JASB.* 1873. p. 221. It may be pointed here that Sikandar Shah's coins were discovered from village Shah-gar (locally Shahugar), now ruined by the Kośi, in Madhipura subdivision of Saharsa district.
5. *Ibid.* p. 241.
6. *PG.* p. 198. We are told therein that the northern strip of Purnea district formed a part of the then independent Morang Kingdom. (*op. cit.* p. 35).

from Motihari to Jalpaiguri, through which lay the important route in the medieval period, now being revived again as lateral road. According to the *Ālāmgirnāmā* and the *annals* of the Koch king, Morang was an old name for the Nepāl Terai. The old routes are indicated today on the north of the Ganges by the North-Eastern Railway from Lucknow to Siliguri Via Tirhut and Katihar. These routes in north Bihār have their local importance, no doubt, but even when we view from the standpoint of North India as a whole, we see that after partition Assam has been linked with India through North Bihar.

Before we proceed, it is better to discuss, in this connection, the importance of the division of Tirhut brought about by Hāji Illyās in 1347 A. D. The portion of Tirhut on the right bank of the Burhi Gaṇḍak, consisting of the districts of Champāraṇ, Muzzaffarpur, parganas of Saraisa and Belagachi in the subdivision of Samastipur and Khagaria and Begusarai subdivisions were administered from Hajipur, while the areas on the left bank consisting of the present districts of Darbhāṅgā (except the parganas of Saraisa and Belagachi) and Saharsā and Sitamarhi subdivision were allowed to be retained in possession of the Rājā of Tirhut.¹ Illyās might have assumed power upto the Gaṇḍak, and it could not have passed beyond Monghyr because the inscriptions of the tomb of Bihar show that the town of Bihar was under the governors of Delhi.² The above division of Tirhut is remarkable as showing the boundary of the area along the banks of the river. The fact is that a road, leading from Champāraṇ to Bengāl via Darbhāṅge and Purnea, existing even now, was the deciding factor in the settlement between the two kings of Tirhut and Bengāl because it was impossible for the Tirhut king to agree to a closure of passage for going into their dominions in the eastern most limit of the district of Purnea. The muslim invaders from the west must have followed this route in the middle ages because they had to cross only small rivers or rivulets instead of a big river like the Ganges on their way to

1. *JBRS*, XLI, Pt. 2, p. 164-7 (Sohni's article) Cf. *MT*.

2. *JASB*, 1873, p. 255.

Bengāl and vice-versā. Marches and counter-marches through Tirhut were very common during our period. That also accounted for the frequent shifting of capitals of the kings of Tirhut. The right bank of the Gaṇḍaka could be controlled easily from Hājipur and that is why the Muslim rulers always chose Hājipur as their headquarter.

The old route is indicated, in the present period, by the North-eastern Railway running through Tirhut. The route from Hājipur to Purnea (without going to Katihar and thereby avoiding the crossing of the Ganges at Kurselā) found favour with the medieval muslim statesmen because it lay on the north of the Ganges and on the right bank of the Gaṇḍak and was, therefore, safe from a strategic point of view. I have tried to show in the following pages how the Mughal army, in the time of Akbar, after crossing the Ganges near Suryagarhā, come to Teghrā and fought against the Afgans. From Hājipur to Teghra, there was one route and the imperial Mughal army marched, times without number, through that route. If the story of granting *Sanads* to the various Zemindars of Parganā Pharkiyā, during the time of the Mughal emperors, be correct, it may be surmised that these small Zemindaries were created simply to provide security for the muslim forces in those belts and an outlet in times of emergency as well. From Pharkiyā or Tirhut, they might go straight to Purnea, without touching the Kośi-Ganges conjunction at Kurselā, by taking the old route somewhere in North Bhagalpur or Saharsā. There were two definite routes—(a) From Motihāri to Bengal via Muzzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Saharsa and Purnea, (b) From Hājipur to Purnea either via Katihār or without it by taking the former route at some convenient point. Even during the reign of Aurangzeb, Mir Jumlā, the famous commander, crossed the Ganges at Monghyr and reached Gogri and followed the enemy's army along the left bank of the Ganges right upto the opposite of Sultanganj (now indicated by the North-eastern railway line between Mansi and Bihpur) and reached Quazi-quera in the district of Bhagalpur. That Shujā passed through the north bank of the Ganges is proved by a Hindu religious Maṭha in a village 'Shujā' in Begusarai sub-

division. The village is said to have been named after him.¹ Through Motihari—Purnea road, one can go to Bhagalpur after crossing the Ganges ahead of Bihpur.

The modern railways in North Bihār are reminiscent of the old routes followed by our people and accepted as such by the British imperialists. Various old routes stand located through Hājipur-Raxaul line, Darbhanga-Jaynagar and Purnea-Jogbani lines. The following railway lines will make the picture, based on old routes, more clear :—

- (i) Hajipur—Barouni—Katihar—Purnea.
- (ii) Hajipur—Muzzaffarpur—Barouni—Katihar—Purnea.
- (iii) Hajipur—Barouni—Katihār (via Saharsa)—Purnea.
- (iv) Hajipur—Muzzaffarpur—Samastipur—Katihar (via Saharsa)—Purnea.
- (v) Motihari—Muzzaffarpur—Samastipur—Purnea (Via Darbhanga—Nirmali—Bhaptiati—Supoul—Saharsa—Madhipura—Purnea).

From Bhaptiāhi (now suspended on account of the ravages of the Kośī) a branch line ran upto Raghapur, connecting Pratāpganj (Saharsa district) and Makwāni (occasionally referred to in the muslim sources) in the Nepal territory. From Purnea side the railway came upto Jogbani and from Darbhanga side, it went upto Raghapur, thus leaving a gap of only a few miles to be connected. There it will be evident that the British laid the tracks between Bhaptiāhi and Raghapur, purely on strategical grounds, and thus followed the path of their Muslim predecessors. This part of the Terai area was under a powerful Hindu chieftain against whom the Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga had to wage a struggle in the first half the 18th century. The *Muzzaffarnāmā* gives us the following account—“Allivardi ordered Diwān Chintāman Das, Hedayat Ali Khan and Abdul Karim Khan Rohilla to chastise the tribe

1. There was a copperplate in possession of the Mahantha. The plate was filed in the High Court and is said to have been missing since then. Senior pleaders of the Begusarai Bar have confirmed that they had seen the true copy of the grant under the seal of the court. That was a big Zemindari.

(the Banjāras). The Banjāras, on hearing the name of Karim Khan, fled to the hills of Makwāni, which was famous for its strength.....The Rājā of Makwāni is outside the realm of Hindustan.¹....." Makwāni is situated in pargana Saptari of Nepal Terai, north of Bhaptiahi railway station. The ruling king, who might have given shelter to the Banjaras, was styled "Bhup Singh."² Rāghava Singh, the Mahārājā of Darbhanga, had fought wars against this Makwāni ruler with the help of the well-known Afgan commander, Sardār Khan.³ It appears that the Afgans were quite acquainted with these hilly regions and passes and that is why Karim was ordered to proceed against the Banjāras. In modern times, Bhaptiahi (N. E. Rly.) was an important means of communication with Nepal Terai, specially the Hanuman-Nagar and Saptari districts. It was with a view to strengthening the defence that the railway was extended to Raghapur from Bhaptiahi side (an old route of immense importance) and to Forbesganj from Purnea side. Kunauli⁴ Bazar in the Supaul subdivision still marks the existence of old routes connecting Nepal. The Britishers realised the importance of this route because till the first quarter of the 19th century, the Nepalese kingdom extended upto Bhimnagar in Saharsa district.⁵ The proximity of Pratāpganj

1. *MN.* translated by Sir Jadunath in *BPP.* LXVI. p. 68.

2. *BMI.* p. 172.

3. An account of this contest is preserved in a book of poetry, entitled "*Rāghava Vijayāwali*" (RV), published by the Rāj press in 1328. Fasli. P. 4. We have an account of Sardār Khan's bravery. It was in this connection that Rāghava Singh went to that side and founded Rāghapur.

4. Kunauli is mentioned as one of the Mahals of Sarkar Tirhut--cf. *Aini Akbari*--II.

5. *PG.* P. 49—In 1788, the Nepalese Sardars raided the village churlf. A fortnight later, the collector reported—"the conquest of Morang by the Gorkhā in defiance of Mr. Hastings order to them not to cross the Kośī, the assassination of the young Raja of Morang who had taken protection in Purnea and their reported ravages on our frontier."—*Bryne-Purnea Settlement Report*—1908, P. XL. ff. The Nepalese continued as late as 1808, when

and Raghopur to Bhimnagar accounts for the extension of railways to that place as early as the beginning of this century. The above facts clearly show the importance, that this area of Tirhut enjoyed in the middle ages, of various routes connecting North Bihar with other parts of India and Nepal. It is for these reasons that North Bihar or Tirhut played a dominant role during our period and was practically one of the centres, in North India, of important political activities.

Since Hajipur-Purnea route on the right bank of the Gaṇḍak, after the division, created by Haji Illyas, found favour with the Muslim invaders of east and west, the routes of Mithilā, on the left bank of the same river naturally escaped unnecessary harrassment. This also accounts for their autonomous status, in so far as the internal administration was concerned, even during the hey-day of Mughal imperialism. We should be explicit on the point here that Kośī, in those days, was limited to the district of Purnea. The most remarkable antiquity is the line of fortifications running through the north-western corner of the Purnea district for about twenty miles. It is called *Majurnikhata* or dug by hired men. It is considered to be the boundary from the land of Gorkha to Tirhut and the fortification is believed to have been upto the bank of Tiljugā. Five miles south-west of the same is another sign of ruin called Karjain.¹ We have no definite information as regards the builder of this important fortification.² From all these, it is

the Gorkha governor of Morang captured the whole Zemindari of Bhimnagar, which was evacuated next year as a result of threat by the Britishers.

1. Karjain lies on the route between Madhipur and Bhimnagar and is connected by the famous Bihpur-Birpur road, referred to above cf. *MEI*. III, 56.
2. Martin gives us the following information (*MEI*. III. 47).-- Karnadeva is attributed to have built several monuments on the Kośī. Karnadeva, Ballabha, Durlabha and Tribhuvana were brothers and belonged to the powerful chiefs of the Dronwara tribe of the Brahmanas. Karjain and Dharhara, in the district of Saharsa, are attributed to this chief, Karnadeva. The Nepal Terai or the Saptari area had long been the centres of the Dron-

clear that the Kośī did not extend beyond Purnea. Its conjunction with the Ganges has, therefore, to be located somewhere between Purnea and Rājmahal. It has been customary, since time immemorial, that trade routes and political aggression generally follow the convenient lines of communication and in this respect, Tirhut has never lagged behind. The convenient lines of communication in Tirhut were mainly determined by these river channels, an account of which has already been given above. The authorities, having headquarters at Hajipur, moved along the right bank of the Gaṇḍak, leaving undisturbed those, on the left bank, to develop a sort of insular attitude which helped them in becoming more and more conservative in their thought and outlook. This is one of the important factors which accounts for the excessive rigidity, conservatism and orthodoxy. Mithilā has been a tract too proud to admit other nationalities to intercourse on equal terms and has passed through conquests after conquests without changing its ancestral peculiarities.¹

IV

Before we close this chapter, a discussion, on the frequent changes and shifting of capital from one place to another, is necessary in view of what we have said above with regard to routes and communications. What-
No fixed capi- ever be the nature of the Muslim rule in Tirhut in
tal after Sima-
raon. The reas- pre-mughal epoch, one thing is crystal clear that
ons for instabi- since the time of Rāmasimhadēva,² the rulers of
lity. Mithilā were kept in awe by the Muslim forces as
 will be evident from the constant shifting of their
 headquarters. Originally Simarāon in the district of Champāran
 (now in the territory of Nepal) was the capital of Mithilā

wara Bhumiharas and this is evident from Vidyapati's '*Likhanāvali*'; a book that was written under the patronage of Puraditya Dronwara of Saptari in Nepal. No truth can come out unless further evidence is forthcoming.

1. LSI. V. II. 4.—The point has been expanded with reference to Mithilā's life and culture in a separate work, entitled "*Mithilā in age of Vidyapati*" —; Cf : —New edition of the Darbhanga Gazetteer r.
2. MT. —This account refers to frequent changes of capital.

and it continued to be so till the time of Rāmasimhadeva which stands proved on the unimpeachable evidence of an eye witness, who visited the Karṇāta capital in the third decade of the 13 century.¹ The splendour and magnificence of Simarāon and of another city, containing a population of lacs, are confirmed by the same account. This is the earliest eye-witness account of Mithilā with the solitary exception of Basātinul-uns, which is fragmentary in character so far as the account of Mithilā is concerned. We have no information if the rulers of Mithilā had temporary capitals or not. At least upto the period of the Karṇātas, Simarāon was decidedly the main capital and others, if any, had only secondary importance. The strong fortification over there is indicative of the fact that they were aware of the impending danger of Muslim invasion. The fortifications were being made stronger during the time of Rāmasimhadeva, when Mithilā stood sandwiched between Oudh and Lakhnauti and it was probably in his reign that serious thought might have been given towards a second line of defence in case of an attack. The Tibetan traveller, Dharmasvāmin, refers to Rāmasimha, his capital Simaraon-garh and the way in which its fortification were manned in order to meet the expected Muslim attack. Rāmasimha treated the pilgrim with courtesy and honour and offered him the post of the palace priest, though he was a Buddhist.²

Circumstanced as they were by the Muslim enclosure on all sides, their independence was always at stake and hence simply to preserve the sanctity of their kingdom they made various attempts to strengthen and fortify themselves. Mulla Taqiā would have us believe that the Hindu rulers sometimes purchased or bought off independence by paying handsome ransoms. Like a drowning man catching straw, these desperate rulers, in their vain attempts to remain independent, shifted their headquarters from one place to another, with the result that they could not settle permanently anywhere. That

1. Dharmasvami's published by the K. P. J. Jayaswal institute, Patna, 1959.

2. Cf. Dr. Altekar's presidential speech of the 19th session of the AIOC (Delhi-1957).

is why we do not get any substantial historical remains at any particular place. The frequency in the change of capitals renders it impossible to find out their traces and hence the predominance of folklore and tradition. Darbhanga, according to Mullā Taqiā, continued to be the second (?) capital from the days of Gangadeva. Darbhanga, as the second capital, was maintained by Rāmasimhadeva, whose name is associated with a number of places there. Obviously, on account of being hard pressed by the Muslims on all sides, Sakrasimhadeva is said to have shifted his capital to Sakkuri (modern Sakri-railway station of N. E. Rly on the Darbhanga-Nirmali Section). The Bengal ruler by this time had reached upto village Maheśwarā on the Gaṇḍak in Begusarai Sub-division, as will be evident from the inscription of the time of Ruknuddīn Kaikaus, discovered there. Harasinghpur in Bahera Police Station (Darbhanga district) is said to have been the second capital of Harisimhadeva. Bahera, even today, is populated by the Muslims. Tradition is that the fort of Harisinghpur was stormed by the Muslim invaders in the middle ages. Bahera lay on the route to Purnea. The recent excavations over there, have brought to light a temple which seems to have been destroyed by the invaders. This is one of the best examples of temple architecture discovered from Tirhut.

The same is the case with the Oinwāra rulers about whose capital, too, we have little information. During the rule of the Oinwāras, the actual occupation of Mithilā by the Muslims was complete. They could not maintain Sugauna, which rose after the fall of Simaraon, as their permanent capital but used to shift according to time and circumstances. Various places in Mithilā are today associated with these rulers. We do not know for certain what the original or the permanent capital of the Khandawālas was, but Bhaura, Darbhanga and Jhanjhārpur are usually mentioned. It was after the battle of Kandarpa ghāt that they shifted their capital to Jhanjhārpur and from there ultimately to Darbhanga, which was already the headquarters of the Faujdar of Sarkār Tirhut. Mahesh Thakur, the founder of the Darbhanga Rāj, makes a mention of Darbhanga. To find out the actual

history of Tirhut, we have, therefore, to explore almost all sites associated with the names of the rulers beginning from Nānyadeva. Any conclusion arrived at, in the present state of knowledge, regarding the location of Mithilā's capital would remain incomplete and unconvincing.

In spite of the frequent changes that had to be made, the rulers chose only these places as capital which lay on the main route—route which existed in its primitive form till it was ravaged and destroyed by the onslaughts of the Kosi. To illustrate only one, by way of example, would be sufficient. We have seen the route from Motihari to Darbhanga, both capitals of the Tirhut rulers. From Darbhanga, we come to Sakri, to Baherā (Harsinghapur),—Bheet Bhagwanpur (once said to be the capital) and from there to Supoul and then to Purnea via Bangāon and Singheshwarasthān. Before the railway tracks were laid, this was the most important route traversed by the people of this region. The road from Darbhanga to Purnea was once repaired at the cost of the Raja (of Darbhanga). The reference to the frequency of the Muslim invasion in strong terms in the Bhagirathapur inscription may be taken to mean that the route, in question, was invariably frequented by the muslims. The broken images, stones, buildings and other allied materials, found or discovered superficially, bear testimony to my contention. The excavators, spade would either confirm or reject most of the views held here, if and when such archaeological work is undertaken. Until further evidence is forthcoming, we have to rely on the sources that we have at our disposal, no matter how shaky they are.

V

Mithilā is perhaps the only region which has been able to preserve her cultural continuity since the beginning of the Aryan civilisation. While certain eastern

A short Political history of Tirhut upto 1786 A.D. tracts remained outside the pale of the Aryan civilisation, the full Aryanhood of the people of Videha is readily accepted. The Videhas had their capital at Mithilā. Our knowledge of Mithilā goes back to the age of the vedic literature,

Three stage in the eastward migration of the Aryans can be clearly seen in the *Satpatha Brāhmaṇa*. Māthava, the king of Videha, whose family priest was Gotama Rāhu-
Early history gaṇa, was at one time, on the Saraswati. Agni Vaiśwanara went burning along the earth towards the east, followed by Māthava and his priest, till he came to the Sadānirā. It is to this Videgha Māthava that the Brahmanisation of this region is attributed. The *purāṇic* account is a bit different. Janakapur was the capital of Videha. The *upaniṣads* abound with glorious accounts of the monarchical system of Mithilā and there we do not find any mention of Vaiśālī. From stray references, we learn that Divodāsa fought a maithila king. The Kosalan king Para Atnāra is said to have conquered Videha. Janaka's court was a celebrated centre of learning.

Mithila continued to be a great city in the epic *period*. From the *Mahābhārat*, we learn that Janaka disputed with nun Sulabhā. After the accession of Yuddhiṣṭhira, Bhima, having killed the king of Modagiri, fell on the mighty lord of the Pundras as well as the potentates who ruled on the banks of river Kośī. Bhima defeated the king of Videha in course of his *digvijaya*. Karna also conquered Mithilā. Kṛṣṇa, with Bhima and Arjuna, visited Mithilā, on his way from Indra-prastha to Rajgriha. The *Vānaparva* speaks of the *Kauśiki-dhāma* which forms the eastern boundary of Mithilā. The Videha king was an ally of the Kurus in the Mahābhārat war. The *Rāmāyaṇa* preserves a good account of Mithilā. We learn from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, that Siradhvaja Janaka made his position secure in Mithilā by killing one Sundhanavana. Janaka was a contemporay of king Daśratha of Ayodhyā and king Pramati of Vaiśālī. There is a rosy picture of Mithilā in the *Jātakas*.

In the 6th century B. C. Videha was one of the important Mahājanapadas. King Puṣakarni was noted for his martial valour. He was a great patron of learning and
Mithilā in the philosophy. He was succeeded by Ugrasena.
6th century Kṛti Janaka succeeded Ugrasena. Then came
 B. C. Janaka Devarat. There is evidence of long rivalry between Videha and Kāśī. The Kāśī kingdom had a powerful hand in overthrowing the Videhan

monarchy. Ajātsatru was jealous of Janaka's fame. The *Arthaśāstra* records the downfall of the last of the Janakas, Karāla by name. Karāla lost his throne as a punishment for an assault on a young Brāhmaṇa woman. The kingship was abolished and a republic was established. The Videhas joined the Vajji republic.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* gives an account of the monarchical rulers of Vaiśālī, specially of Sumati with whom Rāma stayed for a night after crossing the Ganges and before proceeding to Mithilā. The *Purāṇas* give a list of thirty four kings of Vaiśālī. In the sixth century B. C., Vaisālī was the seat of a most powerful republican system of Government under the Lichchavis. During this period, the centre of gravity shifted from Janakapur to Vaiśālī. Both Mahāvira and Buddha are associated with this region. The Vajjian confederacy consisted of eight confederate clans.

Ajātsatru conquered Vaiśālī and since then it continued to be ruled from Pātaliputra. Mahāpadma Nanda is said to have subdued Kuru-panchāla, Kāśī, Mithilā and *Mithila under* Kalinga. The Buddhist priests from Magadha *Magadhan he* and Tirhut went in large numbers to preach their *gemony* religion in Tibet during Aśoka's time. The style of structure of the lion pillar at Basarh makes it certain that it is Aśoka's pillar. Videha is treated as a republican state by Pātañjali. Vaiśālī lay on the road between Pātaliputra and Nepāl and was visited by Aśoka. The route probably passed through Vaiśālī, Keśariyā, Lauriyā-Ararāja, Bettiah, Lauriya-nandangarh, Jānakigarh, Rāmpurvā and the Bhiknā Thori pass. It is indicated by the Asokan pillar. It is believed that Kanishka carried off the the alms bowl of Buddha. All the important Chinese travellers visited Vaiśālī. Hiuentasang makes two distinct kingdoms of Vaiśālī and Vṛjji. Probably his kingdoms were only administrative units irrespective of their independence or sovereign status.

Chandragupta, of the Gupta dynasty, was raised by his

Lichchavi connections from the rank of a local chief to such dignity that he felt justified in assuming lofty titles. During the Gupta period, Mithilā was a part of the Empire and the whole area was known as Tirabhukti. Govindaguptā was the governor of Tirabhukti. Tirabhukti included both Vaiśālī and Mithilā. Epigraphic records enable us to determine the approximate location of Bhuktis. The *Bhukti* was applied to denote the biggest administrative unit within a kingdom or empire. There are various interpretations of Tirabhukti in myths and legends of Mithilā. Tirabhukti is regarded as a land of three mythical sacrifices—performed at the birth of Sitā, at Dhanukā, and at Janakapur. It is so called because it extended upto the Tira or the bank of the Ganges. Some historians think that Tira was the name of a class of people after whom the country came to be called Tirabhukti. A recent discovery of an inscription from village Katra (District Muzaffarpur), belonging to the 5th–6th century A. D. mentions Ramagupta and Jivagupta. The copperplate contains interesting information regarding the administrative matters. It mentions Chamunda Viṣaya under Tirbhukti.

Under Harshavardhan, Mithilā gained importance as a border province with Nepāl, Tibet and China on the north and Kāmrupa on the east. The kingdom of Śaśāṅka included Kārṇa Suvarṇa, Magadha, and the intervening tracts of Tirabhukti and Kāsi. The tradition about Tirhut being a part of five-divisioned Gauḍa world may not be a mere fiction, as a part of Bihar was included in the Gauḍa dominion of Śaśāṅka. The *AMMK* suggests that Śaśāṅka was the ruler of Tirhut. From the *Niddhanpur Copperplate*, we learn that Bhaskarvarman of Assam extended his sway upto the eastern part of Mithilā in Purnea district. The boundaries of ancient Kāmrupa and Mithilā were co-terminus on the Kośī river in the district of Purnea. Bhaskarvarman's occupation of a portion of Mithilā is confirmed by the fact that from there he could actively assist the Chinese envoy who had taken refuge in Nepāl just to the north of

Mithilā. It may be interesting to note that Daṇḍi, in his *Daksakumāracharita* (7th century A.D.), describes the intimate friendship between the then ruling princes and their queens of Mithilā and Pātaliputra. It is generally believed that the later Guptas held sway over the Uttarāpatha. Tirhut passed under the Tibetan rule for a short period. It was probably in 703 A. D. that Tirhut threw off the Tibetan suzerainty.

According to the Tibetans, *Prachi* included the whole country from Tirahuti (Champaraṇa) to Kalinga. According to the account of Lāmā Tārānātha, the Chandra dynasty ruled in Bengal before the rise of the Pālas. Prince Bālachandra of Bengal was banished by his father to Tirhut. He established his rule there and extended his authority upto Kāmrupa. His son Vimalachandra ruled over Bengal, Magadha, Kāmrup and Tirhut. He married the sister of Bhatrighari of Malwa. He patronised the Buddhist sage Ratnakīrti. His son was Govindachandra who renounced secular life under the influence of Jālandharipa and Kañhapā. He was called *dinamukta*. He and his son Lalitachandra were both converted to *Tantric* Buddhism by Kañhpa. Both of them attained *Siddhi*. Then ensued the period of anarchy in five eastern provinces. The history of north-eastern India was in a state of flux in the first half of the 8th century A. D. Yasovarman of Kanauj might have taken the advantage of the growing weakness of the eastern rulers and established his own sway. The anarchical condition of eastern India is confirmed by the *Khalimpur Copperplate* of Dharmapāla.

In the north-eastern India, the Pālas established the strongest empire after the Guptas. Gopāla, the founder of the dynasty, exercised some influence over *The Pālas, the Tirhut*. Dharmapāla was the founder of the *Pratihāras* and greatness of this line and was a leading figure *the Kālachuris* in the then politics. The Pālas held sway over (750-1097 Mithilā since the establishment of their empire. A. D.) Tārānātha confirms that Dharmapāla held sway over Tirhut. The *Monghyr Copperplate* refers to a campaign of Dharmapāla at the foot of the Himālayas. Dharmapāla is said to have subdued the whole

of northern India. During this period, the Gurjara-Pratihāras began to raise their heads. Devapāla suppressed them and defeated Bhoja. The *Bhūgalpur grant* of Nārāyaṇapāla records grant of a village Makutika to the temple of Siva at Kalaśapota, situated in the *Kakṣa Viṣaya* of Tirabhukti. The Pratihāras probably snatched some portion of Tirhut from the Pālas probably after the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Nārāyaṇapāla. Gaṇḍaka and Soṇa were the dividing lines between the Pālas and the Pratihāras. During the reign of Rājyapāla, the Pratihāras crossed the Soṇa and overran Tirhut. In the latter part of the 9th century A. D., Magadha, Varendri and east Bengal probably passed into the hands of the Pratihāras, while the palas retired to Tirabhukti. The Pratihāra empire reached its height during the time of Mahendrapāla.

The Chāṇḍellas, under Yasovarman and Dhanga, followed a policy of crippling the resources of the east Indian rulers. Dhanga weakened the Maithīlas. The Pālas soon restored their authority in Mithilā under Mahipāla I and this is evident from the *Imādapur inscriptions*. The *Bheraghat inscription* tells us that Yaśaḥakarṇa became famous by devastating Champārāṇa. His success in Tirhut is clear from the inscription of Alhaṇḍevi. According to Sandhyakara Nandī's *Rāmacharita*, Vighrahapāla III defeated Karṇa. Tirabhukti was a *Jayaskandhāvāra* of the Pālas during the time of Vighrahapāla III (cf. *Bangaon copperplate which mention Hodrey Visaya in Tirabhukti : The plate was discovered in the district of Saharsa*). The rule of Vighrahapāla III in Tirhut is to be reconciled with the Kalachuri expansion in Bihar. He married Yauvanśrī, the daughter of Karṇa. The Pāla rule in Tirhut is further confirmed by two inscriptions discovered from Naulāgarh.

The Pālas were replaced by the Karṇāṭas in Mithilā. Nānyadeva was the founder of this line. The dynasty ruled Mithilā from 1097 to 1325 A. D. He laid the foundation of a powerful kingdom on a sound basis with an efficient administrative system. (1087-1325 Nānya is described as the lord in the *Andhrāthārhi A. D.*) *inscription*. He came into conflict with contemporary rulers of his time and extended his influence upto Nepal. He did not interfere much in the then

politics of North-eastern India and successfully maintained the individuality of Mithilā. He distinguished himself in war and peace. His notable contemporaries were, Rāmapāla and Madanapāla of Bengal and also Vijayasena, Govindachandra of Kanauja and Rāghava of Kalinga. The kingdom, established by him, existed for more than two centuries, independent of all external control and that was the only independent Hindu kingdom in north-eastern India.

Nānyadeva had two sons—Malladeva and Gaṅgadeva. Malladeva probably ruled separately from Gaṅgadeva and had his headquarters at Bheet-Bhagwānpur. Gaṅgadeva was a brave king. He took revenge against the Pālas and the Senas. He probably attacked Madanapāla's kingdom with success. He introduced sound administrative system. He was succeeded by Narasiṃhadeva. He had quarrels with his kinsmen in Nepāl with the result that Mithilā and Nepāl were separated. It was during his reign that Mithilā, for the first time, felt the pinch of muslim invasion. He was succeeded by Rāmasiṃhadeva. He was a very successful king and efficient organiser. He was followed by Saktisiṃha or Sakrasimha and the latter by Harasiṃha, the greatest king of this line after Nānyadeva. It was during his reign that Ghiyāsuddin Tughluq invaded Mithilā and conquered it. The Karṇāṭa ruler fled to Nepāl and established his suzerainty there. We have no definite information about the successors of Harasiṃhadeva. The Karṇāṭas were supplanted in Tirhut by the Oinwāras or the Kāmeśwara dynasty.

Oen Thākur was the founder of this line and Kāmeśwara was the first king of the dynasty. He was deposed by Fizur Shah who gave the throne to Bhogiśwara. Ganeśwara succeeded Bhogiśwara. There was a division of the Tirhut kingdom during his time and the two (1325-1532 A. D.) kings ruled over small territories there side by side. Ganeśwara was succeeded by Kirtisiṃha.

Then came Bhavasiṃha and his accession marked a complete departure from the elder branch. Bhavēśa was a great warrior (TM—P. 303). He was succeeded by Devasiṃha. Vidyāpati calls him a great warrior. He was succeeded

by Śivasimha, the most illustrious ruler of this line. He was a great fighter, lover of art, learning and culture and a sound administrator. He probably fought with the Sultān of Jaunpur. He issued gold coins and has been called the *Pañchagaudeśwara* by his court poet Vidyāpati. He was followed by his chief queen Lachimā devi and then came Padmasimha, who died childless. He was followed by his wife Viśwās Devi and she was succeeded by Narasimhadeva (Vide—*Kandāhā inscription—JBORS—XX*). He took keen interest in the administration of justice.

Narasimha was followed by Dhirasimha, to be followed by his younger brother Bhairavasimha. Bhairava was a valorous hero and is said to have subjugated the *Panchagauda*. He was also interested in administrative reforms and took necessary steps in that direction. His two silver coin have come to light. He was succeeded by Rāmabhadra. He was a friend of Sikandara Lodi. He was a great patron of Sanskrit literature. He was succeeded by Lakshminathadeva. He was the last king of the Oinwāra dynasty. Nasrata Shāh of Bengal defeated him. The *Bhagirathpur inscription* throws some light on the repeated muslim inscriptions in Tirhut. The dynasty came to an end in 1532 A. D. For about twenty five years, there was anarchy in Mithilā. In about 1556–57 A. D., a new dynasty, known as the Khaṇḍawālas was established whose descendants are still living. Some *Sanads* of the Mughal emperors have come to light.

Maheśa Thākura was the founder of the Khaṇḍawāla dynasty in Mithilā. He made Bhaura his capital. It is believed that Zemindāri of Tirhut was bestowed *The Khaṇḍawālas* upon one Raghunandan in recognition of his *of Mithilā* intellectual learning and he handed over this (1556 Onwards) grant to his *guru* Maheśa Thākura. There is no solid proof to support this contention. There is no mention of Maheśa Thākura in the *Āini-Akbarī*. Maheśa was succeeded by Gopāl Thākur. He defeated the *Pammāra* Rājputas of Bhaura. It was during his reign that Todarmall made his famous revenue settlement of Bihar.

He was succeeded by his brother Parmānanda and the latter by Subaṅkhar Thākura. He changed his capital from Bhaura to Bhanwarāh. He is the traditional founder of Subhaṅkarpur near Darbhanga. He was succeeded by Purushottama Thākura. He is said to have been murdered treacherously at Darbhanga. He was followed by Sundara Thākura. Sundara Thākura was succeeded by his son Mahinātha Thākur.

Mahinātha Thākur fought with Rāja Gajasimha of Simraon and suppressed the rebels of Moraṅga in Purnea district. He was succeeded by Narapati Thākura and the latter by Rāghavasimha. He fought a battle with Dhruvasimha of Bettiah. He came into conflict with Alivardi who carried him as prisoner to Patna. He also fought a battle against Bhupasingha of Nepāl *terai* and subdued the rebellious chief, Birashāh of Purnea. He was succeeded by Viṣṇusimha who also came into conflict with Alivardi. Viṣṇusimha's brother Narendrasingha succeeded him in 1743. The Mithilā tradition maintains that Narendra waged a war against Alivardi at Kandarpī ghāt. He died in 1770. The British acquisition of Dewani in 1765 transferred all powers to the East India company and our account of the narrative closes here.

Besides the house of Darbhanga, Narhan was an important state. We find an account of the family in the *Kāśī Sivastuti* of Paṇḍita Khageśāśarmā. Another important *Minor dynasties* house was that of Bettiah whose king Gajasimha received the title of Rājā from Shāh Jahān. It was Alivardi who led an expedition against Bettiah and brought it under subjection. The next important ruling family in North Bihar was Garh Banailly but the history of that family does not go beyond 16th-17th century. The Rājput Zemindārs of North Bihar claim descent from the traditional Rājputa families of the west and some of them regard Nānya-deva as their ancestor. A particular section of the Rājputas of Darbhanga and Saharsa districts regards Malladeva as the founder of the Rājputa dynasties in Tirhut. The Rājputa Zemindārs of Pargannā Pharkiyā are in possession of some documents of the Mughal period but they do not want to part with them. In the 18th century, the Chakwaras of

Begusarai, claiming descent from Chairāyun Miśra, asserted their independence and ruled over a considerable portion of North Bihār along the bank of the Ganges. There is a frequent mention of their activities in the contemporary company records. Alivardi subdued them. The available records of the *Gandhavariya* Rajputas of north Bihar, as preserved in a court Judgement, will be found in the appendix of this volume.

CHAPTER II

PERIOD OF OCCASIONAL RAIDS IN TIRHUT

(1200-1324 A. D.)

Tirhut, the country west of Mahānandā, was comparatively free from the muslim conquest for a considerable period.

According to a comparatively later source¹ *Bakhtyār khaljī* "Bakhtyār khaljī appears to have conquered

Mithilā west of Mahānandā." Blochman believes that Bakhtyār took possession of south-eastern Mithilā.² Mullā Taqiā gives us definite information with dates about Bakhtyār's march into Tirhut on his way to Bengal in A. H. 599 (=1201-2 A. D.) along with the names of the Karṇāṭa rulers of Mithilā.³ The Mullā holds that the third ruler of the Karṇāṭa dynasty, Narasimhadeva (1188-1227) was under Lakshmaṇasena of Bengal and was forced to be a tributary of Muhammad Bakhtyār.⁴ Bakhtyār firmly held Lakhnauti, Tanda, Tajpur, Ghoroghat, Bārkababād and the eastern

1. *Riyāz*—P. 47, fn. ; Cf. *MT*. (Maāsir—Patna—1946) is of opinion that Bakhtyār first conquered Mithilā and then proceeded Bengal.
2. *Op. Cit*—P. 211. According to *TN*, the inhabitants of Northern Bengal were *Koch*, *Mech* and *Tharu* tribes, whose mongolian features first struck the invaders as peculiar. Stewart has used *Nehāru* for *Thārus* and he is of opinion that *Mihāj* meant the *Thārus* of Mithilā. (Cf. *JASB*—1872-I-66 ; Dalton—*Ethnology of Bengāl*—P. 126). *Thārus* of the Laukahā thānā of Madhubani Subdivision appear to be of Mongloid origin (*HASB*—XIII. 47), Alberuni mentions them as 'Tāru' (Crooke—*Populer Religion* ; *CR*—1885). According to Rāhul Sāṅkrītyāyana they were distributed from Bahraich to Darbhanga ("*Puratattva Niwandhāwālī*" P. 115 ff.)
3. The reign period of the Karṇāṭa kings is based on my paper "*The Karṇāṭas of Mithilā*"—*Annals*—XXXV. 91 ff. ; for my changed views, also cf—'*Harisimhadeva of Mithilā*' referred above.
4. Ikhtiyār-uddin is said to have raided into Mithilā—*CHI*. III. 42.

most limit of Mithilā i.e. Purnea. Hence, in face of the above facts, it is not possible to agree with the findings, of Mr. Chakravarti who says,—“During the thirteenth century, Mithilā generally escaped the deluge of mussalmān inroads. The Muhammadans, on their way to Lakhnauti, marched from Oudh Via Bihar and did not try to pass north of the Ganges”.¹ The recent researches have proved facts contrary to above statement. It is obvious that a portion of Tirhut, no matter, whatever be the size, came under the control of the early muslim invader. It might have been a sort of loose sovereignty as is evident from the fact that the later rulers had to make fresh conquest.

Besides his authority in greater part of South Bihār, Bakhtyār perhaps held the reverine tracts on the north bank of the Ganges from the mouth of the Gaṇḍak river to that of the Kośī. Since Kośī, in those days, did not extend beyond Purnea, it should be clearly understood here that his authority must have been limited to that area. Portions of North Monghyr and Bhāgalpur and Purnea might have been under his sway, as these areas fall within the boundary indicated above (i.e. between the mouths of the Gaṇḍak and the Kośī). Purnea was the eastern boundary of Tirhut. The Tirhut king, Narasimhadeva, paid tribute to Bakhtyār simply to protect his kingdom against further onslaught and consequently ultimate ruin. Professor Askari believes that since Ali Mardan was allowed to pass or cross Kośī, in North Bihār, hence the whole area must have been under Muslim domination. His conclusion does not stand verified by facts. Diyār-i-Kośī was the frontier outpost on the Kośī side. There is no exact proof to show that Bakhtyār took complete possession of Mithilā and whatever reference we have about its being a tributary to Bakhtyār, is based on the solitary evidence of Mullā Taqia. The question of ‘domination’ at the beginning of first wave of muslim invasion is inconclusive at this stage, though the fact of conquest cannot be denied.

1. *JASB.* 1915. P. 407

Bakhtyār must have come through the side of Rājmahal and crossed the Kośī in the district of Purnea.

Local and traditional sources point to the contact between the kings of Mithilā and Delhi. According to Vidyāpati's "*Puruṣaparikṣā*", the ruler of Delhi ruled from sea to sea and he was helped by two young princes, Narasimhadeva of the Karṇāṭa dynasty and Chachikadeva, the Chauhān.¹ I have identified this sultān with Muhammad Ghori. It has been asserted that Narasimhadeva went to the court of Muhammad Ghori and fought for him.² This good relationship between Narasimhadeva and Muhammad Ghori might have facilitated the path of Ali Mardan, if we are to believe Askari's assertion,³ "He could not have been allowed to pass unmolested through an unconquered and hostile region"—It may be pointed out here that there was no question of any hostile region as the people, in those days, had little concern over issues like the defence and allied matters. The fact remains that Bakhtyār had made tributary to himself, the kingdom of Mithilā, without hampering its independence. It was the spirit of friendship that might have allowed Ali Mardan to cross the Kośī.

Bakhtyār embarked on Tibetan expedition when there were already in existence independent Hindu kingdom of Kāmrupa, the unsubdued kingdom of Mithilā, between the Kośī and the Gaṇḍak, the Sena power in Vikrampur and the Eastern Gaṅg Empire of Orissa. At this time Ali Mardan Khalji was entrusted with the task of watching the eastern frontier, while Hussamuddin Khalji was entrusted with the defence of the western march in the direction of Oudh and Tirhut. Hussam is said to have ruled the entire tract from Rājmahal hills to the lower course of the Old Kośī, the

1. GPP. Tale 4; Writer's article—"Vidyāpati's *Puruṣaparikṣā*, an important source of India's political history"—in *Jot*—I. No. 4. P. 13. ff.

For a different account, See, "*Mithila*", February 2, 1953.

2. MTV. P. 115.

3. CS. 1954. P. 7 fn.

accepted boundary between the kingdom of Mithilā and Lakhnauti.¹ The Koṣṭ on the side of which Iwāz received Ali Mardan Khalji coming from Delhi was the boundary of Bakhtyār's territory.² It is not known as to what happened to Bakhtyār's kingdom after his death—whether it passed on to the Delhi Sultanate or to the kingdom of Lakhnauti. The sources are conflicting and hence the difficulty. Bakhtyār's Tibetan expedition was a total failure and this gave some respite to the ruling Hindu dynasties of eastern India. The soldiers of Bakhtyār stood demoralised and he was murdered by Ali Mardan in 1206 A. D. Even his (Bakhtyār's son) son, Ikhtiyāruddin Muhammad, who held fiefs between the Ganges and the Son, raided into Bihar and Tirhut. Had Tirhut been completely subdued, there was no necessity of fresh raids into the territory.

Ikhtiyāruddin, after various raids and plunders, appeared before Qutubuddin. The fact that Ali Mardan was appointed Governor show that the conquest of Bakhtyār passed silently within Sultān Qutubuddin's authority. Bengal and the whole of North-eastern India did not prove to be a bed of roses for rulers of Delhi. Since the advent of muslim conquest and even after the occupation of Bengal by the muslims, the eastern states did not easily accept the unquestioned sovereignty of Delhi. While there was sufficient scope for ambitious princes, both Muslims and Hindus, to raise their heads as independent rulers, the already existing independent kingdom of Mithilā, Kāmrupa and Orissā, left no stone unturned to preserve their independence. The very existence of the kingdom of Mithilā was under permanent threat of being occupied, sandwiched as it was between Oudh and Lakhnauti. The absence of modern means of communications, in those days, prevented these ambitious states from being united in the name of a common cause or danger. These Hindu rulers had not yet taken for granted the establishment of Muslim rule in India, and that is why they

1. *SHB.* II. P. 9-10.

2. *Riyāz.* P. 47.

opposed till the last. The lack of suitable means of communications, coupled with the internal strife on account of their vain feudal concept of glory, stood in their way of progress or in the way of their unity against the successive inroads.

The exit of Bakhtyār created fresh avenues and opened the way for those ambitious adventurer who cast coveting eyes on nearby territories. The independent *Ghiyasuddin Iwāz* kingdom of Mithilā was an eye-sore to the ruling chiefs at Lakhnauti, who never gave up their coveting eyes on this proverbial granary of Bihar. Qutubuddin's governor of Oudh, *Rumi*, was ordered to march to Lakhnauti and in 1207 A. D., he crossed the river Kośi, where Hussamuddin Iwāz hurried to receive him and placed his services at his disposal.¹ We know that Ali Mardan was made the Viceroy of Lakhnauti by Qutubuddin. His treachery was well-known to the Khalji nobles of Lakhnauti and before his departure, he recruited adventurous Turks and crossed in 1210 A. D. Iwāz advanced to the banks of Kośi to receive him.² He restored the political unity of the muslim principality and openly assumed the title of Sultan and exacted tributes. Husamuddin Iwaz Khalji, who supplanted Ali Mardan, exhorted tribute from among the neighbouring countries of Jājnagar, Bang, Kāmruḍa (Kamrupa) and Tirhut.³ So far as Tirhut is concerned, the account stands confirmed by the statement of Mullā Taqiā, who says that Narsimhadeva continued to send the agreed tribute to Bengal upto the time of Sultān Ghiyasuddin Khalji. This policy of paying tribute enabled him to keep Mithilā internally free. Anyway, we are not aware of the exact nature of Iwāz's rule (1213-1227) in Tirhut.⁴ This much is certain that Iwāz's

1. *Annals*. XXXV. 109.

2. *JASB*. 1873. P. 340.

3. *RAMT*—1. 86; Dr. H. C. Rai holds that the claim seems to have been rather vague and put in by way of praise. Cf '*Dynastic History of Northern India*', Vol. I. 374. Also—*JASB*—1908—P. 157; 1915, P. 407.

4. *Annals*—xxxv—109 ff.

Sultanate consisted of Lakhnauti, Barbakabad, Ghoraghat, Tajpur and Purnea. After reannexing South Bihar, he pushed his frontier upto the Gaṇḍaka in North Bihar. The Hindu Rājā of the Koṣṭ tract followed the policy of "*Vetasivritti*" with regard to the muslim rulers.¹ The evidences, hitherto at our disposal, show that Tirhut sent offerings to Iwāz.² The weakness of the one was the opportunity for others. The instability in political life created chances for those who wanted to fish in the troubled water.

While we have no definite information about the actual state of affairs, then obtaining in North India, there are scholars who pass judgement on things uncertain. Dr. Kanungo, in his *resume*, has observed "The old Karnātak Kingdom of Mithilā was about this time (1213-1227) breaking into fragments, after the death of Arimalladeva and these princes in despair of holding their possessions in the plains hemmed in between the Muslim provinces of Oudh on one side and the territory of Lakhnauti on the other were seeking compensation in the valley of Nepal. The ruler of eastern Tirhut could not but come within the sphere of influence of Lakhnauti." Elsewhere I have discussed the futility of such assertions (*Annals*. xxxv). It has to be pointed out here that Arimalladeva was not the king of Mithila, during the period, referred to by Kanungo; nor was there any king of that name in Mithila ever. Askari, while writing on the Turco-Afghan period, (CS-1954) did not look to that statement of *Illututnish and the conquest of Bihar and Tirhut*. Kanungo, which is confusing. There is no doubt that Iwāz made a bid for overlordship over the eastern provinces. This excited the fury of Illututnish, who sent forces against Bihar to wrest it from Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji.

The Delhi Sultan, himself, appeared, with an army, with the intention of conquering Bihar and Bengal in 1225 A. D. The contemporary historian, Minhāj, says— "the august Sultan,

1. SHB—II. 29.

2. ED—II. 319.

on several occasions, sent forces from the capital towards Lakhnauti, acquired possession of Bihar and installed his own *Amirs* therein". It is held that progress of the Sultan was arrested at some point in Bihar and a treaty was concluded between the two. Iwāz is said to have sent to Sultan Illutmish thirty-eight heads of elephants and seventy thousand *tanqās*, in cash, as presents and acknowledged his authority.¹ In shows Darbhanga as a part of Illutmish's empire. Ghiyās was brought into obedience. Illutmish established *Siccā* and *khutba* in his own name² and returned to Delhi. Illutmish succeeded in separating Bihar from Bengal and placed Alaaddin Malik Jāni in charge of Bihar. The departure of Illutmish emboldened Iwaz, who expelled Jāni from Bihar. Mullā Taqiā informs us that the Tirhut King, Narasimhadeva helped Iwaz in conquering Bihar. It appears that some sort of alliance between these two chiefs of eastern India existed and both of them were decidedly opposed to the extension of Delhi's expansion in the east. It was natural because both of them were enjoying the fruits of independence in their respective kingdoms. Whenever the question of opposition to the Delhi Sultanate came up, it seems that the Hindu kingdom of Tirhut and muslim ruler of Bengal used to combine on such occasions.

The expelled governor of Bihar, Malik Jāni, joined Prince Nasiruddin Mahmud who was busy with suppressing the Hindu rebels of Oudh. Only two years after his expulsion (624 A. H. 1227 A. D.), Jāni brought Nasiruddin Mahmud (eldest son of the emperor) from Oudh to the frontier of Tirhut and concentrated large forces there. At that time Iwaz was busy with the conquest of East Bengal. Iwaz was defeated and killed. Nasiruddin Mahmud united the proviness of Oudh and Bengal under one rule and shifted the residence to Lakhnauti. He died soon (1229 A. D.) and Malik Alāuddin Jāni (A Shāhzādā of Turkistan) was put in charge of the Government of Bengal, while Malik Saifuddin Aibak was made the governor of Bihar.

1. *RAMT*—I, 86-87; According to *TN*, 30 elephants and 8,00,000 of rupees.

2. *TP*—P. 46.

I do not find any ground to agree with Thakur, who relying on the *Riyāz*, observes—"Mussalmān Bengal kingdom in pre-mughal times included for the most part the whole of North Bihar."¹ Facts, at our disposal, prove to the contrary.

Narasimhadeva, in order to save the integrity and independence of his kingdom, apologised to Illutmish for his alleged complicity with Iwaz. He, by his policy, succeeded in maintaining the independence of Mithilā. The Kārṇāṭa kingdom was successfully saved, though always in danger from both sides. On the authority of Mullā Taqia, we can say that Tirhut still continued to be an independent kingdom and any contact with the Muslims, either in the shape of alliance or subordination, if any, was due mainly to diplomatic necessity. In view of these facts, it is difficult to give any credence to Dr. Kanungo's statement (quoted earlier) which seems to be his own invention without any foundation. Narasimhadeva ruled up to 1227 A.D. as an independent king and was succeeded by his son, Rāmsimhadeva, who had a very long reign. The independent status of the Kārṇāṭa kingdom can not be questioned on any score, though occasional raids and other disturbances, every now and then, disturbed its peaceful working. By no stretch of imagination, we can bring it under the Bengal kingdom in pre-mughal times. The mention of Darbhanga, Tirhut and Bihar, in the list of conquest made by Illutmish, and separation of Bihar from Bengal under him are important events of historical importance. Illutmish, one of the greatest rulers of Indo-Muslim history, realised the importance of having a separate administrative unit for Bihar. Though his rule could not last long, it created an event of great importance in the sense that the later muslim rulers kept a separate state of Bihar for administrative purposes. Illutmish led an expedition against Lakhnauti (627 A. H.) to punish Ikhtyār Khalji, alias Balka, the usurper. Aibak was replaced by the last Shamshi governor of Bihār (630 A. H.), Tughril Tughān. Illutmish died in 1236 A. D.

1. *TM.*—398. His statement on P. 399 in the same vein is unconvincing and confusing. He contradicts himself by his own statements later on. His whole work is a bundle of contradictory statements.

Tughril Tughān (1236-45 A.D.) legalised his authority, as governor of Bihar, by procuring a formal recognition of his status by Sultānā Reziyā.¹ From his *Bihar inscription*, dated 640 A. H. (= 1242 A. D.), it appears that he was a man of lofty ambitions. He made successful raids into Tirhut which yielded him rich booty but no submission.² He followed a policy of aggression, led an expedition into Orissa, and extended his rule upto Karā Mānikpur in Oudh. As a governor of Oudh, Tamar Khan invaded all the eastern tracts including Tirhut and carried off immense booty. He was, then, sent to Lakhnauti to help Tughān Khan in repelling the Oriyas.³ One thing is clear here i. e., as a governor of Bihar Tughril had to make raid into Tirhut. This shows that Tirhut was independent and hence the necessity of bringing it into obedience, a task in which Tughril did not succeed. The Tirhut king strengthened his position during the time of Raziya Sultāna. It is asserted that Tughān Khan conquered and captured the Karṇāṭa kingdom⁴ and imprisoned its king. It is further pointed out therein that in lieu of his brave services, the Karṇāṭa king was later on released and respectfully sent to Darbhanga by Sultān Alāuddin Masud, as a king. The kingdom was restored and the Tirhut king was to pay his tax direct to Delhi.⁵ Both the

1. His titles, as known from his *Bihar Inscription*, were
"Ghyās-al-Islām wal Muslim in Mughis-al-muluk wal Salātin
Abil-Fath Tughril-as-Sultāni"

2. *SHB*—II. 46.

3. *TN* (Persian Text) P. 247. Cf. *Riyāz*—P. 77 fn.

4. "*Mithila*"—9th Feb, 1953 ; cf. R. K. Choudhary—*Mithila Ka Rajanitika Itihāsa*.

5. *Riyāz*—P. 74 fn.—Cf. *CS*—(1954)—If Narasimhadeva was the king, said to be captured, the whole question of the Karṇāṭa Chronology has got to be revised. Regarding the sources, we know that there is a great dearth and even the text of *Mullā Taqī* has passed through so many hands that sometimes its authenticity comes to be questioned, especially at a place where other sources are available. For revised Karnata chronology, see my article entitled "*Harisimhadeva of Mithila—a reassessment of fact*" and a rejoinder of the same by Luciano Petech,

*Tabāqat*¹ and the *Riyāz* are unanimous on this point that Tughān made an inroad into the country of Tirhū from Lakhnauti and acquired much booty. No where do they say that he completely conquered it and captured its ruling king.

Though Minhāj does not mention the name of the ruling king of Mithilā, it is certain that it was none else than Rāmasimhadeva. Prof. Askari has confused this thing with one who was ruling in 1390.² Rāmasimha succeeded in maintaining the independent status of Mithilā, and he was one of such important personalities of his days, who mattered in contemporary politics. This aspect is evident from a newly discovered source in Tibetan which confirms our contention that Rāmasimha was independent. This source, an eye-witness account, does not refer to his so-called arrest. Dharmaswāmi, the author of that account, stayed with Rāmasimhadeva at Simaraon and his description of the fort of Simaraon is marvellous. He accepts that Rāmasimha was pressed on all sides by the *Turuṣkas*, and had, therefore, given special attention to the strengthening of his fort.³ It, thus, stands confirmed from all sources that Rāmasimha was an independent ruler, though hard pressed under the circumstances. Regarding his date too, what Askari calls "difficulty" is no difficulty at all, because his reign covered the period from 1227 to 1285 A. D. On the basis of what we have seen above, it is partly clear that the occasional raids in Mithilā might have given them (the raiders) sufficient booty but no submission in any case. The frequent raids do indicate the independent nature of the kingdom. Neither Bengal nor Delhi succeeded in subduing it till the time of the Tughluqs, for whom the glory of the conquest of Tirhut was reserved.

1. *TN.* (Raverty's translation)—P. 737; *Riyāz*, p. 74 Fn.

2. *CS*—P. 10 Fn.—For correct identification, Cf. *Annals*—xxxv. 110
12; *JIH*—xxxiv—PP. 321-327.

3. Dharmaswami's Account—referred to earlier.

The drama of the Delhi court was moving with extreme rapidity and revolutionary changes in the set up of things were taking place. In the east, the province of Bengal was a problem and signs of rebellion were not out of sight in Oudh. In between lay the independent kingdom of Tirhut, a headache to both east and west as, in a sense, it was an anachronism in the then political set up of northern India. The rise of Balban to power at Delhi marked a turning point in the history of the slave dynasty, as he not only subdued the rebels but also strengthened the kingdom of Delhi. During his reign, Ulugh Khan, in 1253 A. D., advanced as far as Bishanpur on the confines of Tirhut and returned with great spoils to the royal camp.¹ The rise of Balban to power had emboldened Mughisuddin to seize the masterless province of Oudh. By 1256 A. D., Balban had driven out its rebellious governor, Malik Masud Jāni, and had harried the provinces as far as the frontiers of Tirhut.² The muslim sources further testify to the fact that a portion of bigger geographical unit, *Diyar-i-Bangālā*, had till then, remained independent because we find Balban advising Bughra Khan to exert himself in the conquest of that area. Whether this is to be identified with Darbhanga or not, is a problem of Tirhut history. The area, around Garhi pass (Teliagarhi), was the gateway to Bengal and might conveniently be called *Diyār-i-Bangāla* or gateway to Bengal. As a part of Garhi was in the district of Purnea, the area may be regarded as a part of the eastern kingdom of Tirhut. Since the route to Purnea was through Darbhanga, it has possibly, been called '*Diyar-i-Bangāla*'—*Dwar-i-bang*—*Darbhangā*. Possibly this is the only key to solution so far as

1. ED. II. 375.

2. SHB-II. 52—After the imperial army had left, Mughisuddin attacked Oudh and assumed independence over Lakhnauti, Bihar and Oudh. Tirhut, in those days, is mentioned separately, hence one, ruling in Bihar, should not be taken necessarily as a ruler of Tirhut. The *Karṇāṭas* were ruling in Tirhut during this period.—Another important document of the period is the *Bārāhadari Inscription*—Vide *EIM*—1913—4. P. 24.

the name of Darbhanga is concenned, in the present state of our knowledge and unless something contrary to this is forthcoming.

Balban separated Bihar from Bengal. Bihar remained loyal to Delhi¹ and was placed under an imperial officer. Lakhnauti was made a province of the Delhi Empire, but Balban, on account of his preoccupations with the Mongols, could not keep a vigilant eye on the far flung province of the east. Sultan Mughisuddin Tughral (1268-81), instead of acknowledging his authority,² mobilised his army and advanced into Bihar. He issued coins and caused *Khutbā* to be read in his own name. The first expedition against him was organised in 1278 under Malik Turmati, governor of Oudh. Tamar Khan Shamshi and Malik Tājuddin also joined him. The imperialist forces crossed the Saryu, and advanced by way of Tirhut till their progress was arrested somewhere between Tirhut and Lakhnauti.³ The imperialists were defeated.

Mullā Taqia does not make any mention of Balban in his fragmentary account of Tirhut. The imperial army might have simply passed through Tirhut, leaving its status intact. While the reigns of Illtutuish and Reziya have been discussed thread bare in Mulla's account, there is nothing about the reign of Balban. Mithilā probably did not attract the notice of the imperialist, whose only ambition was to bring Lakhnauti to book. The probability of Rāmasimhadeva's neutrality cannot be precluded. There is nothing to prove that "the natural boundaries of the land kept the enemies at bay," as Thakur⁴ holds relying solely on Chakravarti.⁵ Why the imperialist army preferred

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1. *EIM*—(1909-10). P. 113—Cf. *Monghyr Inscription of Balban* of 677 A. H.
 2. *TMS*—30-31; Cf. *TFS*—B. 83.
 3. *SHB*—II, 61.
 4. *TM*—272-73—He contradicts himself by another statement on P. 402.
 5. *JASB*—1915-407-8. There are innumerable instances to show that the Muslim army, on way to Bengal, passed through Tirhut and vice-versa.

that route, if "the land presented formidable obstacles?" It was not the natural difficulties that saved Mithila's independence, but the "*Vetasivritti*," which was responsible for independent existence till its final conquest in 1324. Again in 1279 A. D., the governor of Oudh, Malik Bahadur led an army against Mughisuddin. Bahadur also followed the same old route, by way of Tirhut, to Lakhnauti. He was also severely defeated. Then the Sultān himself marched in person. Mughisuddin was defeated and killed.

Prince Nasiruddin Bughra Khan was left as the governor of Lakhnauti in 1282 A.D. and he ruled the province for about six years, *i. e.* upto 1287 A. D. When he heard of his father's

<i>Bughra Khan</i> <i>and</i> <i>Ruknuddin</i> <i>Kaika'us</i>	the death and consequent election of Qaiqubād to the throne (1287 A.D.), he proceeded with a large army and entered the province of Bihar with a view to occupying Oudh. ¹ It seems that he followed the north Bihar route.
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Nasiruddin marched against him to enforce his own claims and advanced as far as the banks of Gogra in Sarkar Sāran. Here he was met by his son at the head of the imperial forces, and some lengthy negotiations ensued. A picturesque account of the event has been preserved in the muslim chronicle.² Since it was the hottest part of the year, the soldiers foamed at the mouth from excessive heat. The upshot was that the father and the son were reconciled. Nasiruddin was permitted to keep Bengal.³ The province of Bihar was also retained by Nasiruddin.

Nasiruddin was succeeded by Sultan Ruknuddin Kaika'us (1291-1301). He was acknowledged as the surezain of Bengal and portion of North Bihar. The *Lakhisarai inscription*⁴ (Monghyr) of the time of Ruknuddin is of great importance so far as our history is concerned. From it we learn that, (a) Bihar

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1. The account is preserved in Amir Khusrav's poem "*Qiran-us-Sa'dain*" (*no poetry* but all true facts). Amir khusrav was an eye witness.
 2. *Riyaz*—88-9.
 3. *Ibid*—88-90; Cf. *SB-PP*. 78-50.
 4. *EIM*—(1917-18). P. 8 ff.

which had become a part of Bengal, now again attained a separate status; (b) it contains the names of the great Khans, Ikhtiyāruddin Firuz Aitigin as Sultani and Ziauddin Ulugh Khan, the governor and deputy governor respectively of Bihar, (c) it does not mention the then, Delhi sovereign, Alāuddin Khalji, but records the allegiance of Bihar to Sultān Ruknuddin Kaika'us of Bengal and (d) assumption of lofty titles by the Bihar governor¹ shows the attitude of the Balbani lines towards the khaljis. The recent discovery of the *Maheśvara inscription*,² one of the earliest in Bihar, dated 692 A. H. (—1292) of the time of Ruknuddin Kaika'us, confirms the claim of Firuz Aitigin. One should mark the significance of the words in the Mahesvara inscription. "Hisn-i-Haseen" (impregnable fortress).

From the *Maheśvara inscription* it is evident, that Bihar, at least upto the district of Monghyr, both sides of the Ganges and upto the vicinity of the Burhi Gandak, formed a part of Kaika'us dominion. We have seen above that Iwaz had pushed his frontier upto the Gaṇḍaka in North Bihar and from the present record, it appears that Bughra Khan or his successor Kaika'us extended the limit of Bengal kingdom in Bihar upto that area. Probably it was Bughra Khan, who, on his march towards Oudh, had done it and that was later on confirmed by Ruknuddin. Here, again, Mullā Taqiā is silent about this episode. The extension of Kaika'us power in North Bihar, just a year or so after his accession, amply demonstrates that he was not a weak ruler. The assertion of Sir *Wolsey Haig* that Kaika'us owed allegiance to Alauddin Khalji³ does not stand. According to Yazdāni, the high sounding titles of Firuz indicated that the relations between Delhi and Bengal were sufficiently strained. The authority of Firuz seems to *Firuz Aitigin*, have been unquestionable in Bihar. The high *the governor of* sounding titles of Firuz, in the Lakhisarai and *Bihar* Mahesvāra inscriptions, emboldens us to infer that Bihar, no matter whatever its size, both north and south upto a certain region, attained a separate status from that

1. CS (1954) P. 9.

2. *Annals*—xxxvi—P. 163 ff. (edited by me)

3. *CHI*—III—261.

of Bengal. It does not seem to be very unnatural when we take into consideration the events that had occurred on the demise of Balban. The Governor of Bihar did not lose opportunities in asserting his right and secured for himself, as well as for Bihar, the independent status. Hence the study of his titles is interesting. He is called Sultan Shamsuddin Firuz Shah after he took over the Government of Lakhanuti. He appointed Tājuddīn Hātim Khan to the Government of Bihar. There can be no doubt that he continued to administer the areas, once ruled by Firuz Aitigin himself.

When all these events were going on, the Tirhut chiefs were maintaining their independence, though the size of their kingdom was being reduced gradually. The *Maheśvārā inscription* definitely proves that the Muslims were in possession of that part of Tirhut in 1291-92 A. D. Sakrasīmhadēva was, then, ruling in Mithila. He is said to have been a friend of Alāuddin Khalji. The contemporary literature points to the various successive muslim raids into the kingdom, as will be evident in the following chapter. We know little about the activities of Sakrasīmhadēva, whose reign period is also uncertain. Tradition makes him closely connected with the Khaljis of Delhi. A slight reference to the Muslim invasion of Tirhut during this period has been preserved in the account of Mulla Taqiā. Perhaps it was so during the reign of Alauddin Khalji. The date of this invasion is 697 A. H. (-1297 A. D.)¹

There are no epigraphic or other records to show the extension of the Khalji rule in Bihar or specially in Tirhut. Here we have to rely on Mulla Taqiā, who is the only authoritative guide. Taking him as the only source, we learn that four battles were fought against the rulers of Tirhut till the time of Sakrasīmhadēva. In the first two, the Maithil king defeated, near about Maqbarā, the army of Alauddin Khalji. The second battle was fought at Sakkuri, said to have been founded by Sakrasīmhadēva. In the third battle, fought in 698 A.H., the

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1. MT; Cf MTV—He believes that Sakti (sakra) Siamb ruled for 12 years (1285 + 12 = 1297 A.D.) Perhaps the incident took place during the last days of his reign.

Maithil king was arrested. According to Mulla's account, the Khaljis' defeat near Maqbarā (Darbhanga) was serious. In this night attack, the Muslim suffered a lot. Alauddin Khalji sent help under Razi-ul-mulk Malik Mahmud Iwaz to the Muslim captain Sheikh Ismail as a result of which the Tirhut king was defeated and sent as a captive to Delhi. Taqiā, further, informs us that Sakrasimha was appointed commander-in-chief of Alauddin's army against the latter's¹ Hindu enemies.² Sakrasimha (or Saktisimha) fought against Rānā Hammirdeva Cauhāna of Ranthambor and thereby gained the favour of Alauddin Khalji. The main strength of Sakrsimha lay in the touch stone of his minister Vireśwara.³

Mithilā tradition preserves an account of the alliance between Alauddin Khalji and Saktisimhadeva⁴. In the history of medieval India, Alauddin's Ranthambor conquest constitutes a landmark because he selected it as the first state for the trial of strength with the Rajputas on account of its proximity to Delhi. Vidyāpati also refers to this episode in his famous work, the *Puruṣaparikṣā* (tale No. 2).⁵ It is true that there is not much of truth in these tales, but on examination of the contents, it appears that Vidyāpati used some solid materials before him for the construction of this story.⁶ Mulla Taqiā's reference to

1. GS-P. 11 (1954)—Prof. Askari has expressed natural doubt about the identification of Ismail. Since the account has passed through various hands, it is possible, The contents of Taqiā regarding Khalji's connection with Tirhut may be taken as correct and we have to rely upon it, untill further evidence is forthcoming.
2. Taqiā's account is confirmed by Bakshi—Cf. *BMI*-484-7.
3. For details—*BMI*²-486-7; He associates touchstone tale with Alauddin. For touch stone and Tughlugs—see, *Ibid*, P. 495-6.
4. *MTV*-P. 119. Chandeśwara in his *Kriyaratnākara* calls Devāditya as "*Hambirdhvāntabhānuḥ*" Devāditya is said to have been honoured with the title of *Mantrinātṇākara* by Alauddin Khalji.
5. Cf. *TM*, P. 276, Fñ.—"these literary evidences hardly find support in the statements by the contemporary historians."
6. *JOT*, I N. 4.

the close collaboration between the Tirhut king and Delhi emperor can not be rejected outright as a pure faction. The Tirhut king is said to have gone to Alauddin's court with his minister, Devāditya and Vireśwara. Chaṇḍeswara's mention of 'Hammir' cannot be rejected outright as he, himself, was one of the important personalities of the time and a participant in the political life. His statement should have some weight in the assessment of the period from the historical point of view. Mulla Taqia refers to the financial assistance, rendered to Alauddin, by the Tirhut King, Saktisimhadeva.¹

Feristha says that Alauddin conquered the whole of Bihar². According to Amir Khusrav, Alauddin Khalji, after Karra, departed towards the garden of Bihar "to dye that soil with the blood as red a tulip."³ In the light of Mulla Taqia's statement and the insistence of Mithila tradition regarding the independence of Mithila it is fair to maintain that Tirhut succeeded, with all means, to preserve its independent status.⁴ Tirhut was one of many such states who maintained their independence against the imperial might of Alauddin. We know that Hindus still remained powerful rulers in the Deccan, in Tirhut, in Jājnagar and Gondwāna.⁵ The fact that Bengal Sultan's authority extended upto the Gaṇḍak in Begusarai subdivision, the very heart of Tirhut, might have forced the Tirhut king to court friendship with the Khalji emperor, seems plausible in the present state of our knowledge than any other conclusion. Alauddin's imperial strategy needed a filip in eastern India as Bengal was hostile. The trial of strength between Alauddin and Tirhut, as shown by Taqiā, and consequent friendship between the two are indicative of the fact that the imperialist realised the necessity of securing the alliance of this Hindu state against the Chauhan in the west and also for keeping the Bengal ruler

1. "Mithila 9th Feb. 1958.

2. Briggs-I. 366.

3. ED-III-543.

4. BMLI-makes a mention of Hammir episode but does not make any reference to the invasion of Mithila.

5. HMT-P. 79.

at bay. The Tirhut king, in return, succeeded in maintaining the independence of his country. The good relationship between Tirhut and Delhi was certainly a factor to be reckoned with by both. The fact remains that unusually big number of raids into the territory of Tirhut now became a reality and we have a reference to such activities in contemporary literature. Any source, confirming Mulla Taqiā, will throw more light on this period of our history.

In view of what has been said above, we can agree with Professor Askari in his observation on the period, under review. The learned Professor says “—whose (Bihar's) rulers acknowledged allegiance to Bengal, either in loose subjection to, or in a state of rivalry with, and in independence of the Delhi sovereigns from the time of Muhammad bin Bakktyar Khalji down to the time of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq's invasion of Bengal through Tirhut in 722 A. H. (—1324 A. D.).” *This is all the more true* of Tirhut than other parts of Bihar, parts of which had already come under the direct sway of the Muslims. Traces of independent Hindu Kingdom have been found in the Rhotas area.² There is no doubt that during this period the separate existence of Bihar and Tirhut had come to be recognised by the rulers of Delhi and they had begun to feel that Bihar was the stepping stone to Lakhnauti. The consistent effort of the rulers of Delhi consummated in the conquest of Bengal during the time of Ghiyasuddin Tugluq, who also destroyed for good the independent kingdom of Tirhut and annexed it to the Delhi Sultanate. With his invasion of Tirhut in 1324 A.D., finishes the career of the independent kingdom of Tirhut and begins the history of Muslim rule.

1. GS (1954) P. 10

2. EI-xxii. 222.

CHAPTER III

THE CONQUEST OF TIRHUT AND TUGHLUQ DOMINATION

(C. 1324-1370 A. D.)

Harasimhadeva was the last great king of the Karṇāṭa dynasty of Mithilā. In the absence of the epigraphic and numismatic sources, we have to depend solely on the contemporary literary evidence. He had to bear the brunt of several muslim onslaughts and it was during his reign that the first recorded muslim invasion of Tirhut took place. All contemporary literary evidences are unanimous on the point that Harasimhadeva was a great king. He ruled over the entire portion of Mithilā after having totally subdued his enemies.¹ Devāditya was his minister of peace and war.² The best of ministers, Vireśwara, after having stormed the enemy fort, excavated a big tank in *Dahlyata*, a prominent city and constructed a very high palace. He settled the Brāhmanas and granted cities, like Rāmpura, to the Śrotriya.³ His son was Chaṇḍeswara, a great diplomat and a successful minister.⁴ He defeated the king of Nepāl.⁵ From the colophon of a manuscript of the *Vivādaratnākara*, we learn that a *Tulā-puruṣa mahādāna* was performed on the Bāgmati in Nepal in Śaka 1236 (= 1314 A.D.). The colophon of the *Dānaratnākara*⁶ emphatically asserts that Chaṇḍeswara rescued the earth, submerged in the flood of the Mlecchas, probably referring there by to the defeat of some Muhammadan general.

Even after giving due discount to all hyperbolic statements used in the above expression, one point is crystal clear that

1. Chaṇḍeswara-*Kṛtyaratnākara*, Verse 4.
2. Ibid. Verse. 7.
3. Ibid. V. 9-10.
4. Ibid. V. 13.
5. Ibid. V. 15.
6. R. Mitra *Notices*-VI. 135.

there had been invasions, muslim or otherwise, in his reign. Vireśwara is said to have stormed the enemy fort. This is supported by various traditions and in one place Harasimhadeva is credited with a victory against the Sultān.¹ Dr. Chatterjee believes that Harasimhadeva recovered his kingdom after the tide was stemmed, since it was after the expulsion of the muslims, or after their voluntary retirement, that *Dhūrtasamāgāma* and *Dānratnākāra* were composed.² According to Jayaswāl, *Dānratnākāra* verse refers to the Bengal Sultan for which credit is given to Ganeśwara in his *Sugati Sopāna*.³ Jayaswal's contention cannot be held valid for obvious reasons. Bengal's Sultan was friendly towards Harasimhadeva as will be evident from Mulla Taqia's statement in the following pages. I do not see any force in Singh's statement⁴ that the *Surtrāṇa* of the *Dhūrtasamāgama* was Ghiyasuddin Tughluq. With Ghiyasuddin Tughluq, we come on a surer footing of sober history. We have different accounts in various sources about the invasion of Tīrhut, in 1324 A.D., by Ghiyasuddin Tughluq.

In this connection, I shall, first of all, take up an account of the rare Persian manuscript, *Basūtinul-ŪNS*, now preserved in the British Museum.⁵ (Vide Plates of folios 9, 10, Invasion of 11 and 12 in the *Appendix*). The indications relating to this manuscript in Rieu's Catalogue of Tīrhut by the British Museum Persian Manuscripts, II- Add. Ghiyasuddin 7717, are misleading. This is a Hindu tale compiled by Muhammad Saḍr Āla Ahmad Hasan Dabir, an hereditary servant at the Delhi Court, and a Secretary of the

1. *NDC*-P, 66.

2. S. K. Chatterjee and Babua Misra-*Varṇaratnākāra*-xvii.

3. Introductory Verse-4; Cf *Annals*-xxxv. 115-16.

4. *ST*-67. Similar view has been expressed by Jha, in *MTV*-135, who holds that Harasimhadeva was taken to Delhi and released later on. There is no doubt that before the recorded Tughluq invasion, some sort of contest took place between the *Karnaṭa* and the Muslim kings (identification not possible in the present state) and that Harasimhadeva was victorious. The question of his being taken to Delhi is not supported by all the sources.

5. In this connection my thanks are due to Mr. Meredith Owen, Assistant keeper of the British Museum, London, Dr. R. S. Sarma, Patna College, and Prof. S. A.F. Alam, G.D. College, Begusarai. Another copy of this Mss. is preserved in the Leningrad Museum, Moscow.

royal Chancery. The importance of the work lies in the fact that it was composed in the first year of Muhammad Bin Tughluq's reign. It is a good piece of literary work and the style is marvellous as well as lucid. I am giving below some extracts out of it.

(1) Basatinul-uns

Folio-10—After having conquered Lakhnauti, Sonargaon and the suburbs (Land and sea), acquired treasury, elephants, horses, etc, he (Ghiyasuddin Tughluq)¹ proceeded towards Tirhut with a view to announcing God's *Kalma* and *Shariat* of the Prophet on this side. The Rai had a *very strong army* and a *very strong fort* as well. He was not very powerful but too proud of his might. He was a tyrannical ruler,² and had *revolted and insulted the authority of previous kings*.³ When he came to know of the victorious Tughluq flag, being afraid of this army (then follows the description of Tughluq's army), the Tirhut king began to tremble. Mahawata's force came so rashly that the Rai had no alternative. His kingdom failed and he *left his kingdom in a state of hopelessness* and did not think it wise to live there.

Folio-11—He managed to escape with the help of a swift horse, left the country and saved himself. He took shelter in a cave or a hill.⁴ The Tughluq emperor stayed there in a big town for some days to make necessary arrangements. The *fort* of the king of Tirhut *was surrounded on all sides by water and jungles*. The Tughluq emperor got killed those who had taken shelter there and showed liberality to those who accepted his authority. He handed over the administration of that area to the people of the region and was thus relieved of the anxiety.

1. His title on Folios 9 and 10—"*Ghiyāsudduniya-wad-din—Abul Muzaffar Tughluq*."
2. He was not at all submissive and tried, in vain, till the last to save the independence of Tirhut.
3. Text, *Hech-wakt-barsare-harf alal o intasila isdneya dah*.
4. This eyewitness account does not mention the arrest of this king and his consequent removal to Delhi. Professor S. H. Askari has published a detailed account in the Maharajahdiraj volume of the JBRS.

Folio-12—"After making these arrangements, the emperor returned to Delhi." Here we have to remember that the author, then a member of the royal suite, had journeyed along with the Emperor from Tirhut to Delhi. He refers to the burning heat of the time. He describes most vividly the overwhelming heat, hot wind and hardship that he, with his companions, had suffered.

This account of the *Basātinul-ūns* is borne out by Faristha.

(2) **Faristha**¹—On the authority of *Futuh-us-Salatin*.

In 1323, complaint reached from Lakhnauti of the oppressions committed by the governors of that province. Ghiyāsuddin Tughluq marched in person towards Bengal.....Nasiruddin came from Lakhnauti to pay his respects, bringing with him many valuable presents and he was confirmed in his government of Bengal..... It is related that as the king was passing near the hills of Tirhut, the Rājā appeared in arms, but was pursued into the woods.² Finding that his army could not penetrate them, the king alighted from his horse, called for a hatchet, and cut down one of the trees with his own hands. The troops, on seeing, applied themselves to the work with such spirit, that the forest seemed to vanish before them. They arrived at a fort surrounded by seven ditches full of water and a high wall. The king invested the palace, filled up the ditches and destroyed the walls in three weeks. *The Raja and his family were taken*, and the great booty obtained, while the government of Tirhut was left in the hands of Ahmad Khan, son of Malik Tabligha after which the king returned towards Delhi.

This statement, with slight variation, is preserved in Bihāri Lal's *Aini-Tirhut*.³ According to the *Riyāz*,⁴ Ghiyāsuddin

1. Briggs. I. 406-7 ; Cf. Annals-xxxv.

2. Faristha, too, does not say about the arrest of this king. He confirms the views of Ahmad Hassan. The flight is unanimously accepted in all accounts with slight variations here and there.

3. AT. p. 13.—refers to the arrest of the king,

4. *Riyāz*—p. 91 fn.

716.7

stormed the fort of Tirhut. An account, preserved in the Bayāz, is important and deserves consideration.

(3) The Bayaz of Mulla Taqia :—

Ghiyāsuddin Tughluq, in 724 A.H., after suppressing Bāhādur Shah of Bengal, invaded Harasimhapur. Ghiyāsuddin undertook an expedition against the king of Mithilā because Harasimhadeva had made a common cause with Bahādur Shah of Bengal and had helped him on several occasions. Harasimhadeva was arrested and taken to Delhi and the administration of Tirhut was handed over to Ahmad Khan, son of Malik Tabilghā. Tirhut was conquered and the stronghold of the Karnātas was demolished. A mint town, named Tughlaqābād or Tughluqpur was established. Muhammad bin Tughluq restored the kingdom to Harasimhadeva, and appointed him commander-in-chief. Later on Muhammad Tughluq was informed of a touch stone¹ in possession of a Maithil Minister and wanted to have it. Since the touchstone could not be procured, he ordered for the capture of the Tirhut kingdom and the transportation of the Tirhut king. The king, on hearing this news, fled in 726 A. H. (... 1326 A. D.)

(4) Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi² (Barni) :—

When the Sultan reached Tirhut, the ruler of Lakhnauti, Sultan Nasiruddin came forth with great respect, and without the sword being called into question, all the *rais* and *rānās* of the country made their submission.

In all these accounts, with the solitary exception of Mullā Taqiā, the name of the king is missing. All accounts agree to the storming of the fort of Tirhut and the question of the flight of the king with slight variations. The king submitted and that is evident from all the sources. As the author of the *Basātinul-ūns* was an eye-witness, reliance can be placed on his version which confirms the Mithilā tradition that Harasimhadeva fled to Nepal. Mullā Taqiā says that both Bahādur Shah

1. For touchstone episode—*Cf.* *BMI*—p. 495-6.

2. *ED.* III. 234.

and Harasimhadeva were released after the accession of Muhammad Tughluq. This act of grace on the part of the Tughluq emperor was done on the assurance of Harasimhadeva that he would regularly pay taxes and that assurance brought in its train his appointment as the *Commander-in-chief*. Muhammad bin Tughluq, learning about the touchstone in possession of Vireśwara, wanted to have it. The evasion on the part of Vireśwara provoked the Sultān, who ordered Majdulumk, the Mukti of Bihar to put the Raja in permanent imprisonment and confiscate his territories in Tirhut. The Rājā got scent and escaped to Nepal in 726 A. H. Popular traditions do not avoid mentioning the captivity of the Rājā, as Prof. Askari thinks.¹ Jha mentions the arrest of the king and his consequent release and the subordination of Tirhut to the Subā of Bihār.² A fort and a mosque were also constructed there under the imperial orders.

How far the above account of Mulla Taqiā is corret, it is difficult to say. In the absence of any other source, we have to accept it for the time being as a hypothetical proposition. In the present state of our knowledge, it is very difficult to ascertain whether Harasimhadeva was arrested or not? Chandeśwara confirms that the earth was flooded by the Mlechas and he rescued it.³ The *Dhūrtasamāgama* gives a little more definite information.⁴ Here Harasimhadeva is said to have conquered the *Suratrāṇa* identified by Chakravarti with Ghiyāsuddin Tughluq.⁵ This identification does not seem to be probable. The eye-witness account does not mention the arrest of the

1. CS. p. 12, fn. 1.

2. MTV, 135—Cf. BMI-450. Pakshi holds that apprehending his discomfiture at the hands of Muhammad Tughluq, Harasimhadeva fled to Nepal. Cf. the traditional verse relating to his flight quoted in the Maithili edition of Vidyapati's '*Puruṣapariksā*' (BMI 495-7). For my interpretation—Cf. my paper on "Harasimhadeva"—quoted earlier; and Luciano Petech—*Medieval History of Nepal*.

3. Mitra - *Notices*—VI. 135, No. 2069.

4. NDC. P, 66—

नानायोग निरुद्ध निज्जित सुरत्राणवत्स सदाहिनी

नृत्यदभोम कन्यमेत्य कदलद्भूमि अमदभूधरः ।

5. JASB-1915-P. 412.

king and clearly indicates his flight. Did he ignore the event ? The answer must be in the negative. The *Dhūrtasamāgama* account may be construed in the following manner. Ghiyāsuddin handed over the administration to those, who submitted to his authority and retired. On his retirement Harasimhadeva returned to his capital and again asserted his independent authority. To please the king, Jyotirīswara Thakur wrote the famous drama, *Dhūrtasamāgama*, (the comedy of "the meeting of the cheats.") and the comedy was staged before him. Here the king has been glorified. Umāpati Upadhyāya, the author of the '*Parijātaharaṇanataka*', calls Hari(hara)deva a powerful king, whose name was a terror to the *yavanas*.¹ It was about the time of Ghiyāsuddin Tughluq's invasion that Harasimhadeva fled to Nepāl. The date of flight is also known to us from the traditional sources² to be 1326 A. D. The point relating to his arrest needs further investigation.

In connection with the reign of Ghiyāsuddin Tughluq, we have to bear in mind that Zīā Bārni differs from Ibn Batuta on many occasions and hence the difficulty on arriving at any definite truth. All authorities are unanimous on the one central point and, *that is*, that the kingdom of Tirhut was destroyed and its capital Simaraon was sacked, where Harasimha was ruling.³ The last semblance of independent Tirhut vanished. Muhammad Tughluq inherited a large empire and a treasury full of wealth. Darbhanga was the capital of Tirhut under the Tughluqs. Tirhut came to be known as Tughluqpur or Tughluqabad.⁴ He erected a big palace there. The Muhammad Tughluq vast empire was divided into twentythree provinces. In one of the accounts,⁵ the name of Tirhut is missing but that of Bihar is there. Bārani makes a

1. *JBORS*—III—Part I. p. 28—"यवनवनच्छेदन करालकरवालेन.....हिन्दु पति श्रीहरिहरदेवेन ।

2. बाणाधिवाह शशिसम्मित शाक वर्षे पौषस्य शुक्ल दशमी क्षितिसूनुवारे त्यक्त्वा सुपट्टनपुरीं हरिसिंहदेवो दुर्दैव दक्षित पथो गिरमा विवेश । (Cf. मिथिलाभोद) ; Cf. Petech—*op. cit.*

3. Allen—'*Cambridge Shorter History of India*,' P. 118.

4. According to Ibn Batuta.

5. *Masālik-ul-Absār* ; Tirhut is also missing from Ibn Batuta.

passing reference to some of the provinces in which Bihar is missing but Tirhut is mentioned.¹ He mentions twelve provinces of the Delhi empire.² Muhammad Tughluq increased it to twenty-three including Bihar. Tirhut was an important part of the empire and a mint town. It was made a separate province.

In his learned treatise,³ Dr. Mahdi Hussain has brought for discussion Tale 4 of Vidyapati's *Purusapariksā* and has identified Muhammad following Grieson certainly with Muhammad bin Tughluq. Its historicity is, at the very root, doubtful because Narasimhadeva of the Karpāta dynasty can not be a contemporary of Muhammad bin Tughluq (1325-51 A.D.).⁴ The learned doctor has blindly accepted the arguments advanced by the late lamented Grierson without an eye on historical fact. Even if that point be left out, Muhammad Tughluq's control over Tirhut is an established fact. It was vigorous and effective. He appointed Kilādār Shah Sufi at Harasimhpur after the flight of the king. He built a mosque and a fort which were destroyed by an earthquake in 1605. The inscription is dated 726 A.H.⁵ In 745 A.H. (1339 A.D.) on his return from Bengal,

1. Prāni (BI. Series) —p. 468. Cf. an article published in the "Vostokovedeniya"—xxii (1957) pp. 115-129 (Moscow).

2. ED—III. 774-75—Delhi, Telanga, Kampila, Dwarasamudra, Ma'bar, Tirhut, Lakhanauti, Saigaon, Sonargaon, Gujrat, Mālwa and Deogir.

3. HAIT. 97.

4. JOT—I. No. 4; Cf. JASB. 1915—p. 412; Annals—xxxv.

5. MT. Text of the Inscription, as published in CS (1954) p. 13. "Qlallah O'laala man f'na Bill Husnata Falahu Ashra Amsalah Biṇa Masjid Al Mujaḥhid Fi Sobilillah Muhamud bin As Sultan as Sayed is shaheed il Ghāzi Ghiyā Suddunya Waddin Anarillaha Burhānahu is Soyalat An Tarikh-i-Bināz ehi Faqul Howat Masjid al Aqsā Fisanat-i-Sitta—

Wa Ishreen Wa Sabaa Mayaat al Hijriya un-Nabuwah-726

Tamam Shudin Halqat-Aqtab-ul Akber (2) Dar

Bedāban Inscription Ahad-i-Shahan Shāh-i-Adil Shāh Muhammad

(3) Bin Tughluq Shāh lā-zila Mulkoli-wa-

Daulat hu (4) Anam Bazail Izut Daulat Waddin (5) Quazi-

Muhar-i-Bakar (6) O Ain Ban'ad Mahmud binyusuf Al Mutuqqab

(7) Bistum Māh-i-Rabi ul Awwal Sanasa Saba wa Arbeena wa-sabe

Mayat (747=1346-47 A. D.).

he is said to have granted the kingdom of Tirhut to Kāmeśwara Thākur and authorised Hāji Ilyās (1339-1358) to collect tribute and supervise the administration. The Bedibana inscription (of 1346 A. D.) further brings to light the following facts about the Tughluq rule in Tirhut,¹—".....a reference is intended to the fort mentioned in the Gazetteer description of the Bedibana village. The structure was made over to Izzuddin for his administration as *qazi*, who was a Judicial officer, primarily with some ecclesiastical functions." The Tughluq rulers took every measures to strengthen their hold on every part of the empire. As land revenue was the principal source of income, demand of the state varied in different times and places. It was a part of Tughluq's policy to tax the Hindus in such a way as not to allow them to be blinded by wealth, to become discontented and rebellious. These rulers wanted to reduce them to poverty and destitution.²

The establishment of a mint town at Tugluqpur or Tirhut is a remarkable point in the history of Tirhut. As an important currency town, Tirhut must have wielded some influence over the economic life of the area. Out of the two copper coins, discovered from Tirhut, one is dated 731 A. H. and they have the inscription "province of Tirhut or Tughluqpur." Of the coins,³ recently discovered at Jaymanglagarh (Begusarai, in December 1955 and January 1956) one bears the name of one more mint town, Dārul-Khilafat. Darul-Islām mint was, no doubt, well-known.⁴ The Darul-Islām appears first on the coins of Alauddin Muhammad and

1. *JBRs-XLI*—Pt. 2, P, 164 ff.

2. *IHQ-VII*, p. 41 (March 1931) ; Cf. *ED*, III, 230 ff.

3. Other mint towns were Daulatabād, Agra, Sonargaon, Satgaon and Darul-Islam.

4. I am thankful to Sri T. D. Mehta, the then SDO, Begusarai, who procured for me three silver coins out of a hoard of 400, now lost to us. Lanepool—"Catalogue of the Indian Coins of the Sultan of Delhi,"—p. 64. R. B. Whitehead—"Catalogue of coins in the Punjab Museum," Vol. II, p. 47 for Dārul-Islam coins. The coins have been published by me in the *Indian Numismatic Chronicle*, Patna. Cf. *G. D. College Bulletin* No. 4.

threafter recurs till the middle of the reign of Muhammad Tughluq. Sultan Alauddin Muhammad (703 A.H.—1303 A.D.) moved to his new city which was also entitled Darul-Khilafat (a continuation of the City of old Delhi)¹. One coin from the *Darul-Khilafat* mint is in our finds.² The city of Delhi, so described, is probably Siri, known as *Dārul-Khilāfat*, a city which fulfilled the conditions laid down for *Dārul Islām*.

There are two more Tughluq Silver Coins referred to, in Jayamanglāgarh finds.³ The Tirhut Copper Coins of Muhammad Tughluq read—"He who was the Sultan, surely he obeys the merciful, struck in the territory of Tughluqpur alias Tirhut, in the year seven hundred and thirty."—Reverse—"Stamped as a *tanqāh* current in the reign of the slave hopeful of mercy, Muhammad Tughluq."⁴ The extant coins, reflect almost every important change in the emperor's policy and represent the different phases. Lanepool holds that Muhammad Tughluq's forced currency was not intended to defraud. He devoted much attention to his coinage and dealt with it in a scientific way.⁵ In the words of Thomas, "so

1. ED. III. 589; Siri is also identified with Dārul-Khilāfat—Cf. JASB—xvii (N.S.)—1921. p. 119. Cf. H. Nelson Wright—*The Coinage and Meterology of the Sultans of Delhi*.—p. 106; Lanepool, *op. cit.*, p. 91 Says—"There was old Delhi, the City of the Ghazni rulers; nearby stood Siri, afterwards named *darul-Khilafat* or 'Abode of the Caliphate,' founded by Alauddin." It may be pointed out here that in my finds, referred to above there is the mention of a *Seeunderabad darul Khilafat*.
2. The text is—"Sultanul Āzam Alauddin wald Abu Zafar Muhammad Tughluq Sultan." Reverse is—"Sikandarā Zamane darul-Khilafat Nasir Amirul Momin."
3. (a) *Ghāzi Ghiyasuddin duniya walden Abu Muzzafer : Tughluq Shah Sultan Nasir Amirul Momin* ; (b) *Al Mojahed Fn Sabili Muhammad bin Tughluq Shah*.
4. C. J. Brown—"The Coins of India"—Plate viii.
5. Lanepool—*Medieval India* (S. Gupta—1951) p. 93 ff.

indeed did he consider all matters connected with the public currency that one of the earliest acts of his reign was to remodel the coinage, to adjust its division to the altered relative values of the precious metals, and to originate new and more exact representation of the subordinate circulation."¹ His name shone upon the issues of various mints. His coins are valuable sources for the study of contemporary history.

Before passing on to discuss the extent of Firuz Tughluq's empire, we should take into consideration the facts leading to the invasion of Tirhut by Hāji Ilyās of Bengal.

Invasion of Tirhut by Hāji Ilyās was entrusted with the task of supervision, while Kāmeśwara Thakura of Oini was charged with the responsibility of collecting taxes.

The accession of Shamsuddin Hāji Ilyās (1342-1357 A. D.) to the throne of Bengal constitutes a landmark in the history of eastern India. Taking advantage of the adventurous policy of the Delhi Emperor, the rulers of Gorakhpur, Champaran and Tirhut had thrown off the allegiance and had become politically independent. Isāmi, in his *Futuh-us-Salātin*, says that a rebel had proclaimed himself king at Lakhnauti in full enjoyment of the parasol and the throne. He had been supported by the whole of Tirhut and Gauḍa, the spirit of rebellion having spread every where.² The spirit of revolt was visible every where within the Tughluq empire on account of the capricious and whimsical policy of Muhammad Tughluq.³ The ruling chiefs of eastern India had begun to raise their heads. Though Hāji Ilyās used to send⁴ presents to Delhi, every now and then, he was virtually independent. The extinction of Delhi's authority and the absence of union among the Hindu Rājās afforded opportunities to Hāji Ilyās for ambition and imperialistic schemes.

1. TP-207, 233.

2. PIHC (Waltair)-xvi—p. 187

3. ED-III. 242-3 ; SHB. II. p. 95 ff.

4. RAMT-1. 309, 324, 317 ; 348-9.

Cf. Riyaz-98-103.

Haji Ilyas invaded Tirhut with success. The subjugation of Tirhut was followed by a very daring incursion into Nepal in 1346 A. D., the date of the *Bedibana inscription* (in the district of Motihari). Professor Askari says—"he (Ilyas must have followed Bengal route for reaching the hills of Swyambhunātha and sacking the sacred temples of Paśupati, near Khatmandu, as it was much later that he overran Tirhut and advanced via Banaras upto Bahraich,"¹ Jayaswal, following the *Cambridge History*,² fixes the date of the invasion of Tirhut at 1352 A. D.³ According to the epigraphic and *Vamśāvali* records, the Bengal Sultān marched with a large army and caused heavy damage. The ruling king was Jayarājdeva and the invasion took place in 1346 A. D. Accidently these two dates synchronise with each other and naturally call for an accepted theory (1346 as the date for the invasion of Mithila by Ilyās) to be changed. Sir Jadunath and the writers following him have accepted it without any discussion on the subject.⁴ Nepal had been practically free from the Muslim inroads till 1346.⁵ The route, traversed by Ilyās, to reach the valley of Nepal, is still controversial. The *Bedibana inscription* of 1346 is an indication of the fact that the area of Tirhut (especially western part) was under the direct control of the Tughluqs and hence it was impossible for Ilyās to follow that route. Regmi believes that Ilyās must have entered through the present district of Purnea and travelling due west must have taken the route of the Bāgmati.⁶ It was only after this conquest, that Ilyās probably thought of attacking Tirhut. Perhaps the death of Muhammad Tughluq emboldened him to take such a daring step of attacking.

1. CS-P. 13.

2. CHI-III. 175. 263.

3. JBORS-xxii. p. 89-90.

4. SHB-II. 103-4; Cf. TMI-407.

5. D. R. Regmi—*Ancient and Medieval Nepal*—p. 153 ff. Except Benda, Ilyas's attack is omitted by all the chronicles.

6. *Ibid*—P. 153.—The invasion took place in the month of November-December with a huge force.

against a neighbouring territory, Tirhut, which had only recently been annexed to the Delhi Sultanate. The invasion of Tirhut must have taken place sometime between 1347 and 1352 A. D., because it was in 1352-53 A. D., that he had to relinquish his hold on pressure by the Tughluq.¹

His westward campaign was a grand success. He extended his power upto Bahraich in the west. He, not only, conquered Tirhut but also succeeded in stabilising his conquests by making necessary administrative arrangements there. He divided Tirhut into two parts with Gaṇḍaka (Old) as the dividing line. He is credited with having founded the city of Shamshuddinpur (modern Samastipur) and laid the foundation of Hajipur, which was destined to be the central point in the determination of Muslim policy in North Bihar. According to Al Badaoni, he had built a number of forts which the infidels had destroyed.² Mulla Taqiā tells us that Kameśwara of the Oinwāra dynasty objected to the division of Tirhut but to no purpose. Ilyās controlled the area from Nepal Terai to Begusarai. Faristha confirms the fact that he was the founder of Hajipur. The Mulla, further, says that his power extended from Darbhanga to the mouth of the Kośi. The wishes of the peoples were not taken into consideration and the opposition was terrorised into silence. Kāmeśwara's loyalty to Delhi was a known fact, because his kingdom was a gift from Delhi. Hence Ilyās's policy of repression and division of Tirhut should not be taken as something extraordinary. He realised the strategical importance of Hajipur. A grip over the territory was maintained through these two newly founded cities. It is apparent that the whole of Tirhut, for the time being, was groaning under the deadweight of

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1. *CHI*-III, 175-263. The latest work, *TM*, does not discuss the point at all and accepts, Sir Jadunāth's version. It is not true that no authentic date of this invasion can be given, but, then, one thing is sure that it can not be 1346 A. D.
 2. *RAMT*-I, 348 9.—Municipal records confirm Mulla Taqiā's statement about the foundation of Samastipur by Ilyās.
 3. *ED*-III, 293-94.

Ilyās's arm. It appears that his Tirhut career was meteoric in character. The Rājās of Champāraṇ and Gorakhpur transferred their allegiance to him.

The startling victory of Hāji Ilyās and his dream of imperial suzerainty opened the eyes of Firuz Tughluq. Firuz had only settled down his affairs in Delhi, when he heard *Firuz Tughluq* of the rapacious activities of Ilyās. We have seen above that Muhammad Tughluq had appointed him to supervise the territory of Tirhut, which, by now, he had conquered. Delhi considered it as an act of betrayal and an open defiance of the imperial authorities. What actually was the strength of Ilyās would be clear from the fact that on Firuz's approach, Ilyās retired like a coward. Firuz could not tolerate the defiance of imperial authority and as such proceeded to measure swords with the Bengal Sultan.

Aḥīf gives the following account of the march of Firuz Tughluq. 'Firuz marched triumphantly in great strength..... When he arrived on the banks of the Kośī.....he found the army of Shamshuddin posted in force on the other side, near its junction with the Ganga. The passage appeared difficult, so the Sultan marched hundred *Kos* up the Kośī, and crossed it below Champāraṇ (?) at the place where the river issues from the mountain but the waters ran with such force that stones of five hundred maunds weight were borne along with the shawls. The Sultān ordered a line of elephants to be drawn across the river, both above and below the fort, to facilitate the passage. The upper line was to break the force of the current; the lower line was furnished with the ropes, to which men carried away by the stream might cling...the Sultan succeeded in crossing the the river and followed Shamshuddin by¹

1. The description deserves notice in view of the fact that it gives certain indication—(a) He went straight to the bank of the Kośī, (b) Ilyās's force was on the other side near its junction with the Ganges. It appears that the two armies were face to face on either side of the junction i.e. somewhere near or opposite Rajamahāl. (c) The Sultān marched 100 *kos* up the Kośī and crossed it below Champāraṇ—Where the river issues from the

way of Champāran and Racap (?). Then follows the details of the battle.¹

Bārni does not mention these places but simply states that the imperial march was through Gorakhpur, Kharosā and Tirhut. Chakravarti holds that Bārni's Kharosā lay between Gorakhpur and Tirhut and that is probably to be identified with Champāran.² Out of these two accounts, one point is clear that his route lay across the Ganges to the Kośī river. Faristha says that on his arrival in the neighbourhood of Gorakhpur, the zamindars of that place made usual presents to him and they were admitted to pay their respects. Udi Singh, Mukaddam of that place, came to pay his respects and presented him suitable offerings in money. The Rai of Gorakhpur also paid up the arrears.³ In his campaign against Ilyās, Firuz was helped by the local Rājās.⁴ Mullā Taqia affirms that Kāmeśwara presented himself before Firuz with suitable offerings and promised to continue as a tributary. The aim of Firuz's

mountain. Be it noted here the Kośī issues from the Himalaya near Bārāksheṭra and not near Champaran. The possibility is that Firuz moved back and followed the Terai route (Motihari to Jalpaiguri—Vide Chapter I;) to Bengal, the most frequented route. Far to the north near the present borders of Nepal, there is a place called Jiāran, where the Kośī narrows down to a rushing mountain torrent, being easily fordable (Cf. *SHB*-II. 106). Perhaps Ahf confused Jiāran with Champāran. Racap, may be identified with Rājwārā or Rājbirāj in Nepāl Territory and on way to the east near the Kośī. It is a simple conjecture. Firuz brought his troops to this point and safely got them across the river with the help of the local Rajas. Ilyās retreated down the Ganges.

1. *ED*-III. 294-95.

2. *JASB*-1915-413.

3. *SIH* (S)-P. 67. Dow's translation, *Ibid*, F. N. 31—"Ilyās was the master of all Bengal and Bihar upto Banaras." There is no mention of Kośī here.

4. K. K. Basu—'The House of the Tughluqs'—*JASB*-XXVI-P. 253 (N. S.). Cf. *Rijās*-100 Fn.

conquest was to reannex the territory from Kośī to Oudh. After subjugating the chiefs of Gorakhpur, Kharosā and Tīrhut, he made necessary administrative arrangements for the territory from Saryu to Kośī. Then he carried on his operations against the fort of Ekdala, where Ilyās had entrenched his position very strongly. Afīf's account says that he did not annex Bengal.¹ The peace was concluded and the king returned to Delhi without effecting his object. Later on, presents were sent to Firuz Shāh.²

When the Sultān, on his return journey, arrived at the bank of the Kośī, he found that the rains had set in. He ordered the troops to embark in boats. The whole army thus crossed.³ The account throws some light on the flood of the Kośī and other Bihar rivers. Kośī, when in spate, is dangerous. Perhaps this was the impelling force behind Firuz's aim to appoint officers to examine the banks of all water courses, and report how the inundations extended. If any village went to ruin, he dismissed the officers in disgrace.⁴ After his return, he consolidated his position in the Doab. Firuz's authority in Bihar is proved by a Jain stone inscription which refers to Malik Vayu as the *Māṇḍalika* or *Muqti* (Governor) and Nasiruddin, as *Shahnā* or the *Kotwāl*.⁵

Firuz had to march to this side for the second time in 759 A. H. to suppress the son and successor of Hāji Ilyās, Sikandar Shah.⁶ Sikandar Shah aspired to revive the pristine glory of his paternal kingdom and as such he began to show signs of his rebellious activities. Firuz marched via Gorakhpur, Chakait and Tīrhut and on his return to Jaunpur in 761 A. H., he

1. ED-III. 294-95 ; Cf. JASB-1915-413.

2. SIH (S)—P. 67-68-69.

3. ED-III. 298.

4. Ibid.—302.

5. JBORS-V.

6. His coins have been found in different parts of Tīrhut.

marched from there towards Jāunapur by way of Bihar, where according to *Sirāt-i-Firuz Shāhi*, he reached in the spring of 762 A. H. As regards North Bihar, Bārni refers to his frequent visit to Tirhut, which was brought into subjugation and made loyal tributary as in the past. We know that during his expedition against Sindh, Khan-i-Jehan demanded the despatch for men to all the various dependencies of the State, *Viz*, Badaūn, Kanauja, Sandila, Oudh, Jaunpur, Bihar, Tirhut, Chanderi, Dhar and other States.¹ Tirhut was thus one of the recruiting grounds for such soldiers as might be required in furtherance of the imperial cause. The vassal status of Tirhut, in the scheme of feudal order, is evident. Between 1370 and 1375, the frontiers of the Tughluq empire were secured by placing them under the great Amirs and well-wishers of the emperor. The fief of Bihar was given to Malik Bir Afgān. Firuz displayed the lack of political foresight and statesmanship by resorting to the old method of granting fiefs to the nobles and military commanders in lieu of cash payment. Here in lay the germs of the future dissolution of the Delhi Sultanate by increasing the power of the nobles at the cost of the central government and thereby creating opportunities for establishment of future independent states. The states, on the ruins of the Tughluq empire, aspired to become the worthy imperial successors with the result that they had to struggle amongst themselves for supremacy. We shall take up the point in the next chapter.

The study of the reign of Firuz vis-a-vis the history of Tirhut is confronted with a number of problems. Hence in assessing the history of this period, we should be cautious with regard to the sources. The sources, at our disposal, are not numerous. The difficulty is that the sources were actually written at a distance from the site of actual occurrence and even Mullā Taqia's account must have been based on such sources.

1. *ED*-III. 333.

2. *IHQ*-VII. 48.

On the authority of Mulla Taqiā, we learn that in 1353 A.D. when Firuz Tughluq came to Tirhut, Kameśwara and other *Zemindars* submitted and promised help against Ilyās. It was through the help of the people of Tirhut that Firuz could get across the river. Kameśwara affirmed his loyalty. Firuz Tughluq destroyed the division of Tirhut, created by Ilyas and reunited the two parts under his own hegemony. For administrative purposes, he appointed a *qāzi* and other officials. These officers were to look to the maintenance of the imperial authority in Tirhut, only recently challenged by Ilyās. The system of appointing imperial officers had come into vogue in the reign of Ghiyāsuddin Tughluq and the appointment of collectors¹ made by Firuz was in keeping with that tradition. It was nothing more than a reassertion of the Tughluq authority in Tirhut.

About other details of the contemporary history of Tirhut during the period, Barni is silent while Mulla Taqiā is not explicit. Barni does not mention either the deposition of Kāmeśwara or the accession of Bhogiswara. It is presumed that the rulers of Tirhut might have shown signs of independence at the weakness of Firuz, after his return from Bengal. Whatever be the presumptions, there is no reference in Barni to show that there was a meeting between Kameśwara and Firuz.² Mullā Taqia hints at a point which seems to be reasonable. Firuz had some doubt about the loyalty of Kāmeśwara and hence he appointed Bhogiswara as the king of Tirhut. The fact is borne out by Vidyāpati, the greatest poet of Mithila.³ Firuz Tughluq called Bhogiswara his fast friend. In the present state of our knowledge, we have to depend on this solitary piece of evidence so far as Mithila's relation with Firuz Tughluq is concerned. The house of the Oinwāras suc-

1. *Riyaz*—101 Fn.

2. *TM*—408. Since there is no question of meeting in Bārani's account, it is futile to hope for a reference about "his dethronement"

3. H. P. Śāstri—"Kīrtilāla" P. 4—पिअसख भनि पिअरोज साह सूरतान समानल ।

eeded in maintaining the internal autonomy of Tirhut by paying regular tributes and accepting their vassal status.

Since then Hajipur continued to be headquarters of the Muslim governors. Hajipur was the centre of political gravity since the advent of the Muslim rule, and continued to be so throughout the middle ages. Its situation is *Hajipur—a town of* such as to make it a place of strategic importance. The following chapters will show how Hajipur was practically the *defacto* capital of North Bihar and controlled affairs upto Garhi in Purnea. All aspirants for power in North Bihar from Ilyās to the Darbhanga Afgans in the 18th century wanted to control this town of immense strategic importance. It was Akbar who realised its importance, in true sense of the term, and created it into a Sarkar along with others in North Bihar, which continued till the establishment of the British rule in Bihar. The medieval imperialists attached same importance to this town in North Bihar, as was down to Patna in South.

CHAPTER IV

PERIOD OF MARCHES AND COUNTER- MARCHES :

(Struggle for Supremacy in Tirhut)

(C. 1370—1526)

Kirtilatā, an important work of Vidyāpati, if read with Kirtipatakā and other muslim sources, will give some clue to the study of history of Muslim rule in Tirhut. Just after the invasion of Tirhut by Ghiyāsuddin Tughluq, its independence had been a thing of the past and we have seen that muslim officers were appointed to supervise the administration. Kāmeśwara was the founder of the Oinwāra dynasty. For the Oinwāra period, Vidyāpati is the only reliable source of information. The forces of disintegration had set in and all ambitious chiefs had begun to raise their heads to fish in the troubled waters. ¹ Bhogiśwara succeeded Kāmeśwara. Bhogiśwara was succeeded by his son Ganeśwara Thakur. ² We are told that Ganeśwara was murdered by Arslāna in L. S. 252—1371-72 A. D. and since then he continued to rule over Tirhut till he was finally routed by Ibrāhim Shāh Shārqi. ³ The claim, that Malik Arslān occupied Bihar and realised tribute from Tirhut, ⁴ lacks corroboration. Between 1370 and 1375 A. D., the frontiers of the Tughluq empire were under the great Amirs.

The fief of Bihar was given to Malik Bir Afgan who showed no laxity in coercing the insurgents of those parts and confiscating their territories of the frontier. Yahya Bin Ahmad holds

1. Cf. *JBRs*—XI—Part II—“*The Oinwāras of Mithilā*”.

2. Ibid; Cf. *ST*-69-89; *TM*-290-342. For a discussion of the Arsalān myth in detail.

3. *Kirtilatā*—II Pallava.

4. *Ibid*—F. 50-51.

that Bihar included Tirhut.¹ If his assertion be right, Malik Bir Afgan might be taken as Arsalān, referred to in Vidyāpati. Arsalān means brave or lion. Malik Bir Afgan might have been called Malik Arsalān by Vidyāpati. Malik Bir Afgan probably took advantage of the chaotic situation in Tirhut and extended his influence. We have no other sources to enable us to identify Arsalān with any known chief. The fact remains that he committed atrocities to such an extent that enraged the people of Tirhut. Political instability after the murder of Gaṇeśwara, and internal strife enabled the muslim chiefs to make frequent raids into the country. Tirhut was passing through a critical stage. At present, there is nothing to show with regard to the actual identity of Arslān, whose excesses in Tirhut forced the Tirhut rulers to knock at the Shārqi doors for help. Even the muslim sources are not explicit about the so-called Arsalān-episode in Tirhut. The question may arise, why the Tirhut rulers approached the Shārqis? The answer is that it had already been conquered by Khwājā Jehan.

Malik Sarvar Khwājā Jehān, an eunuch, was granted the fiefs of Bihar and Tirhut by Sultān Mahmud Tughluq in 796

A. H. (—1396 A.D.).² He built a number

*The Shārqis and
Tirhut*

of fortresses, destroyed by infidels in the districts of Karra, Oudh, Sandila, Bahraich and Tirhut.³ He was entitled *Malik-us-Sharq* and

the territory from Kanauja to Bihar was under his possession. Faristha says that he subjugated both North and South Bihar. Khwājā Jehan brought Tirhut under his control and if there was any person like Arslan, he should have been automatically deprived of his power after Malik Sarvar's rise. Sarvar conquered Jājnagar and was ultimately made the governor of eastern provinces. He took advantage of the forces of disintegration at Delhi and assumed the title of *Sultan-us-shārq* or Sovereign of the east. He declared his independence and

1. ED—IV. 13 (*Tarikh-i-Mubtarakshahi*)

2. ED. IV. 29.

3. RAMT—I. 349.

became the founder of the famous line of the illustrious Shārqi rulers of Jaunpur.

Vidyāpati's reference to Jaunpur has been interpreted in different ways by few writers. All scholars from Haraprasad Śāstri to K. P. Jayaswal have identified Jaunpur of Vidyāpati's *Kirtilata* with the capital of the Shārqi dynasty. The latest champion of a new theory, Dr. Subhadra Jha, says,¹ "Jonāpur could not be Jaunpur...Ibrāhim Shāh of Jonāpur, who is referred to in the *Kirtilata* was certainly not the Ibrahim Shāh of Jaunpur."² Dr. Jha should have done well to take into account the muslim sources before making any comment on the identification of Jaunpur. He admits that he has not been able to re-examine the manuscript but he postulates that the sign for ā and ī in early maithili writings are confounding. The all round descriptions of Jaunpur by Vidyāpati fully testify to the discoveries of the period.³ We know that in his second expedition to Lakhnauti, the Sultān (Firuz Tughluq) marched through Kanauj and Oudh and to Jaunpur and built a fine town called *Jaunanpur*.⁴ Firuz Shāh built this town on the bank of Gomati to which he determined to give the name of Sultan Mahmud Shāh, son of Tughluq Shāh as that sovereign bore the name of Jauna, he called the place *Jaunanpur* (Jaunpur). Vidyāpati's description of Jaunpur, with its palaces and markets and accessories, finds support in other tradition and hence simply for correcting the errors in date, postulated by Jayaswal, we should not try to disown the known historical facts. Jha's arguments go against all canons of historical truth known to us from various other sources.⁵

1. Subadhra Jha, "*The Songs of Vidyāpati*" P. 41.

2. Ibid—P. 42 Cf. *TM*—301; wherein he has rightly questioned the validity of Jha's statement. Recently Dr. Virendra Shrivastava has published a new interpretation on the basis of *Kambhat MSS.*—Cf. "अपभ्रंश भाषा का अध्ययन"

3. *ATF* (S)—PP. 43—44.

4. *ED*—II. 307.

5. Subhadra Jha—*Op. Cit*—pp. 38—44.

In the *catalogue* of Nepal Darbar Palm-leaf manuscripts,¹ there is a description of a Four-act Rāmāyaṇa, by Dharmagupta, who calls himself a poet laureate. Dharmagupta was commanded by Yuthasimhadeva, who does not seem to be a king of Nepāl though his dominions included part of the valley. From his title, he seems to have belonged to the race of Harasimha and from his worship of Sikharnārāyaṇa, he seems to have dominion in Nepal. What stamps him as the king of Nepāl is the epithet that he helped in the establishment of the "Surki" dynasty² of Jaunpur. The troubles in the then eastern dominion (*Shurq*) of Delhi commenced in the reign of Sultān Firuz Shāh and Yuthasimha appears to be one of those Hindu Rājās, who helped Malik Sarwār to establish himself as *Malik-us-Sharq*.

The third and the greatest Shārqi ruler, Ibrāhim Shāh, held the full insignia of royalty. The history of Bihar and Tirhut is closely connected with the history of Jaunpur for a considerable period, though it is not always true to accept that it (Tirhut) was a vassal state of Jaunpur upto 1460 or so.³ Facts, at our disposal, do not enable us to accept the above view in toto. During this priod of political convulsions, Tirhut was, no doubt, the political play-ground of all the ambitious, self-centred princes and careerists, not only of Bengal, Jaunpur and Delhi, but also of its own talents who were in search of such opportunities. Though subjected to all sorts of trials and tribulations, Tirhut, still, continued to enjoy the

1. *ADC*—P, 246—*Catalogue No.* 1418.

2. *Ibid*—सुरकी कुल कमल कानन विकासनैम भास्करण—; cf. the Maharaja Volume of the *JBR* wherein Luciano Petech has questioned my point of view.

3. *TM*—302—I do not know on what authority he has asserted that "Mithilā was a vassal State of Jaunpur," He has relied on *SHB*—II. 135, but I did not find any such statement there. B. B. Mazumdar's findings in his "*Vidyāpati*." (Introduction) are not always reliable. On p. 412; *TM*, we have another statement, lacking confirmation—"From this time onward, Tirhut and Bihar remained subject to Jaunpur kings for 100 years."

autonomy within the feudal framework and on occasions asserted independence. Here, again, for the study of this period we have to fall back on Mullā Taqīa for guidance. Vipyāpati's reference to Ibrāhim Shāh may be taken as another important source. Ibrāhim Shāh, according to the poet, was the greatest king of the line and a far-sighted statesman. He has been compared with God. It was Vidyāpati, who acquainted Ibrāhim with chaotic condition of Mithilā and prevailed upon him to realise the necessity of his intervention against Arsalān whose identity is still a matter of controversy.

What ultimately was the motive of Ibrāhim Shāh in coming over to this side is evident from other sources too. Tirhut was not his only concern then. His real purpose was to restore the banner of Islām in Bengal and on his way, he thought it desirable to punish the tyrant in Tirhut. The letters of the saints of Kachchancha (Faisednib) and Nurqutub Alam of Bengal throw sufficient light on the affairs of the rebel Hindu Zemindār, Raja Kaṁsa or Ganesh of Bengal and Ibrahim Shārqi of Jaunpur.¹ Nurqutub Alam does not mention name but obviously refers to Hindu domination in Bengal and the feeling of frustration among the Muslims.¹ There is unmistakable and clear account of the alliance between Bengal and the then Rājā of Tirhut against Ibrāhim Shāh Sharqi, while he was on march to Bengal at the invitation of Nurqutub Alam. The *Mirat-ul-Asrār*² says—"Rājā Kaṁs, who was a *Zemindar*, gained an ascendancy over the King of Bengal (788 A.H.—1386 A.D.) and practised so much oppressions upon the Muslims that they began to flee from him...Nurqutub Alam complained against him to Ibrahim Shāh of Jaunpur...The lamp of the faith of Islam and true guidance which cast its lustre on every nook and corner has been extinguished by the wind of

1. BPP-LXVII—(1948)—P. 32 ff—Professor Askari's article—"New light on Rājā Ganesh and Sultan Ibrāhim Shārqi" For criticism of SHB-II-on this point Cf. Askari's review of the same in JASB—XVI (Letters-1950) pp. 59-60.

1. Askari's article—*op. Cit.*—Cf. JASB—1874-264, 268.

2. Ibid—

unbelief blown by Kansrai." ¹ The account of Kansrai is also preserved in Mullā Taqia ² in the following words :

"Raja Kans, a Hindu *Zemindar*, acquiring ascendancy in Bengal, oppressing the Muslims, and instigating Sivasimha (a *king of Mithilā*), the rebellious son of Deva Simha, the Rājā of Tirhut to commit depredations upon the Muslims." Sivasimha is said to have killed many holy personages and contemplated a similar action against Makhdum Shāh Sultāni, ³ the Khalifā of Makhdum Alāul-Haquē. He asserted independence and withheld payment of taxes. When Ibrāhim Shah marched against Bengal, he had to face the opposition of Sivasimha in Tirhut. He was defeated, pursued and captured in his stronghold. Lehra was taken. His father, the dispossessed Rājā of Tirhut, was restored to power on conditions of allegiance and loyalty. Ibrāhim ordered a mosque with a pulpit and a place of residence to be erected. There was an inscription in that mosque. ⁴

The inscription is dated 805 A. H. (—1402-3 A. D.). It marks the year of Ibrāhim's march towards Bengal via Tirhut. There is no room for any doubt that Sivasimha was in league with Rājā Kansa of Bengal. Sivasimha wanted to stop the progress of the Shārqi army. On the approach of the Shārqi army, he saved himself in the fort of Lehrā but was arrested.

1. Ibid—34.

2. Maʿsir (Patnā) 1946—Cf. CS-17

Cf. AT-P. 82-83.

3. Mullā Taqia Says—"Chun Rājā Kans Zemindār-i-Hindu Bar Tamami Qalamrau-i-Bangālā Motaghallib gasth Āmād-i-Qatāḥ mosalmānān shuda O Kunja Islām Rā Az Qalamtao-i-Khud Mustāsāl Sākhtan Nasbul Ain Qarār Dād Darān Zamān Shiva-singh dar Tirhut Ba Hayāt-i-Pedar Khud Raja Devasingh īgghi shuda Bā Kansa Ahd-i-Mosādiqat Basta Wa vilayet Tirhut Ba Tāriqe Is taqatāl.....".

4. Text is—"Qālan Nabia Sallallhu Alaiba was sallam Man Bina Masjida Allah Binallah labu Baitan fil Jannatahi. Binā Hāzal Masjid fi Zamānal Imān Nāib-ul-Khalifa Amirul Mumenin Abul Fatah Ibrāhim Shah as Sultān Khaladah Khilafatahu Sanata Khamsa wa samāna mayata. 805."

Devasimha was restored and he granted twelve bighas of land for the maintenance of Makhdum Shāh Sultān, which is still extant.¹ It is, therefore, an established fact that Ibrāhim's army reached Tirhut between 1402 and 1404 A.D.² The Mithila tradition asserts that Devasimha died in 1402 A. D.³ After 1405 Ibrāhim remained engaged with Delhi. Vidyāpati gives us the names of Hindu and Muslim generals who either helped Ibrāhim or accompanied him in his march against Tirhut. One such Hindu helper was Manohar Rājā. Under Malik Muhammad Ghani, the Shārqi army crossed the Gāṇḍak. Qāzi Khwāja and Makhdum Shāh fought on behalf of the Shārqi. Perhaps this Makhdum Shāh was the same, sent by Bengal chief to preach Islām in Mithlā.⁴ It was only natural for the protagonists of Islam to extend help to one, who was on a holy march, in the true spirit of a crusader, to extirpate the infidels in Bengal.

The fact, that Devasimha, representing the elder line of the Oinwāras, was installed as king on promise of loyalty, points to his subordinate vassal status. Though Mithila continued to be under the tutelage of the Shārqi dominion for a considerable period, its autonomy, *that is*, status quo in pre-Shārqi period, was guaranteed. Bengal could get possession over Tirhut, in the sense it was under Ilyās, after one hundred and twenty one years—in 864-879 A. H. (1459-1474 A. D.) or so. Siva Simha had begun to take active part in the administration at a very early age of fifteen. *The Kirtipatakā* of Vidyāpati (fragments of which are available) contains praise for Sivasimha. Mullā Taqia's reference to his arrest can not be rejected outright. For the present, we have to take it as an established fact. Vidyāpati's description of Devasimha's valour⁵ is supported by Mulla Taqia. The arrest of Sivasimha and his subsequent release

1. Cf. AT-82-83.

2. JBRs—XL—II.

3. MTV-160-61—on the basis of Vidyāpati who gives us the date *saka* 1324.

4. *Kirtilata*—P. 76-89, 100, 102.

5. Cf. GPP—and *Śrīva-sarvasva-sāra*.

on the assurance of loyalty must have been one of the causes of his struggle against the muslims when he became the king.

Sivasimha was the greatest king of the dynasty. He held aloft the glory of Tirhut in the face of opposition from all sides, He had helped Ganesh or Kansrai in suppressing the Muslims and, in collaborations with other Hindu chiefs, he is said to have defeated Jalaluddin (Jadusen, *Sivasimha* son of Kansrai) because he had taken up Islām even after his purification according to Hindu rites. Vidyāpati calls him Gauḍeśwara and Gajjaneśwara.¹ He is said to have attained glory in a terrible battle against the kings of Gauḍa and Gajjana. So far as Gauda is concerned, it is evident that he had to weigh his arms against Jalaluddin, but about Gajjana we have no clear idea. From his chronicler, Vidyāpati, it appears that in his contest Sivasimha severely defeated his enemies. Ghazzana is evidently Ghazni and not one in Tirhut as Singh thinks.²

As a man of independent mentality and heroic spirit, Sivasimha thought it below his dignity to pay tribute to the Shārqi kingdom. He not only revolted but stopped payment of stipulated tribute. He was already determined to take a revenge of his earlier arrest (1402-3) and after his accession, he undertook to do it. The fact that he assumed independence is known to us from his gold coins.³ In a short span of three and a half years, he not only asserted his independance but made Tirhut strong enough and launched aggressive campaigns against the east and the west. The tragedy is that no Bārani or Afif was there to preserve an account of his achievements in

1. I. A. XIV. 192; Cf *JBRs*-XL-II.

2. *Kīrtipataka*, when discovered in full, may throw some light on the subject. Cf. *ST*-P. 73. For Ghazzan's identification—Cf. *HMT*.

3. *ST*-73; *Archaeological Survey of India*—1913-14. There is no historical evidence to support Vidyāpati's contention about Sivasimha's confinement in Delhi. The Delhi rulers were not in a position to take such a bold step in face of the Shārqi. Cf. Thakur's article in the *JNSI* of 1957; Cf-*HCIP*-VI—Chapter on Mithila by R. C. Majumdar; and any article on the Oinwara currency.

writing. We do not know the names of Muslim rulers against whom he contested. We can not preclude the possibility of a contest between Ibrāhim's representative and Sivasimha. Fate did not help the Tirhut ruler and he was defeated. Gajjaneśwara, therefore, should be identified with the ruler of the west against whom Sivasimha fought. There is nothing to break away from Delhi yoke as Thakur¹ thinks, because, Tirhut, then, had connections with Jaunpur. Delhi was not in a position to take any action against Tirhut, which fell under the control of the eastern kingdom of the Shārquis.

Recent discoveries, made by Professor Askari at Hajipur, throw some interesting light on the history of Sivasimha.² The tradition says that Sivasimha, at first, was very inimical to the Muslims and avoided all contacts with them, but the miracle worked by the dead saints made him a changed man.³ Tirhut, in those days, comprised the present districts of Champaran, Muzzaffarpur, parts of Monghyr and Bhagalpur,

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1. *TM*—P. 317, Cf.—p. 311 Fn.—*last sentence is thoroughly confusing.*
 2. *BPP-LXVI*—(1946-7) P. 35-46—"Local tradition, supported by incomplete document..., says that Rājā Shāhi (Siva) simha, the Rājā of Suba Bihar and Tirhut (?) from the Gang to the Sang (Ganges to hills), who had no issues, was advised by the Brahmin Pandits to proceed to the South for a bath in the river Ganges. He arrived at Jaruha, and as advised by the Brahmins ordered a well and a large tank to be dug out. The labourers, while excavating the tank hit upon the dead bodies of two martyrs. Blood came out and the Rājā was told by an invisible voice that he should ask them to rebury the corpses. As the Raja was blessed with the two sons, he ordered the erection of two chambers (*Barahdari*) and made over this building with 32 bighas to three muslims who signified their readiness to remain permanently in the place. Long after the completion of the *Dargah*, the mother of Nasib Shāh (Nasrat) of Gauḍa ordered for a *pucca* well to built. The *pir* or Nasir Shah was built on the same place.
 3. *Ibid*—P. 38.

Saharsa, Purnea and a strip of Nepal Terai. According to a document of 1144 A. H (1731 A. D.),¹ Raja Shahisimha had made the gift under his own seal to the ancestors of the petitioners and other rulers had also granted *Sanad* for the same. The document is not very clear about the actual name of the king, whether it was Shahisimha or Sivasimha. It is a fact that Sivasimha granted lands to the muslim for the maintenance of a *Khanqāh*, but where and under what circumstances, we do not know.² The most important point, deserving notice, is a reference to the two issues of Sivasimha. As far as we know, Sivasimha died without any issue and was succeeded by his illustrious wife, Lakhimā Devi. The second point is about the name Shāhi Simha or Sivasimha. These two aspects of the discoveries at Jaruha have to be studied. Mithila tradition, specially Vidyāpati, pointedly refers to only one name Sivasimha. Sivasimha, a king of Tirhut, was decidedly not a ruler of Bihar as the above mentioned documents would have us believe. The identification of Shahisimha with Sivasimha is not free from grave doubts. If we look at the local tradition, we can suggest an alternative. Among the Chakwāras of Begusarai,³ there was a king whose name was Shakisimha. He was practically the master of North Bihar. He controlled the areas from Hajipur to Rajmahal-Purnea including the pargana of Dharampur. The Chakwāra dominion was spread over to some parts of Bihar territory on the other side of the Ganges and as such he can be suggested as an alternative for Sivasimha. Shahi Simha Chakwar had no male issue. He is said to have been a contemporary of Akbar. Shahisimha's daughter was married to the ancestor of the proprietors of the present Narhan Estate (in the district of Darbhanga). No definite conclusion can be arrived at in the present state of our knowledge regarding the identification of Shahi-simha.

With this digression, let us now proceed with the narrative. The tradition of independence, established by Sivasimha, con-

1. Ibid—P. 37.

2. AT-82-83.

3. There is no connected chronology of the Chakwāras.

tinued inspite of various jerks from different quarters. The internecine strife and all round deteriorating conditions did not leave any opportunity for the people of Tirhut to raise their heads for complete independence. Even their autonomous status was often at stake. Occasional contests against the then powers are not unknown in our history. It is not exactly known as to what was the state of affairs in Tirhut after Sivasimha. Bihar, in general, and Tirhut, in particular, were heavily pressed on both sides by Bengal and Jaunpur. The exact nature of their control over this province has yet to be assessed. No particular dynasty held sway over this province. Various coins of the Shārqi have been discovered from North and South Bihar and these point to the predominance of Shārqi rule. Two such coins (one of Ibrāhim Shāh and another of Hussain Shāh Shārqi, discovered from Begusarai) have been examined by me. While Shārqi held sway over Bihar including the western Tirhut, the eastern portion of Tirhut came under the sway of the rulers of Bengal.

The Bengal rulers had always cast coveting eyes on Tirhut. The title '*Pañcha-gauḍeśwara*', attributed to Nasir Shah (Nāsiruddin Mahmud Shah, 1442-1459, grandson of Haji Ilyās) signifies that he was a powerful ruler.¹ The fact that Bhagalpur was included in his kingdom suggests that he held sway over a part of Tirhut.² We have seen that Ilyās's son held sway upto Shahugarh in Madhipura Subdivision.

Eastern portion of Tirhut was, directly or *Nasirshāh of Bengal* indirectly, under the control of Bengal rulers.

Mithila was one of the component parts of '*Pañchagaḍa*' and hence Viḍyapati's reference to *Pañcha-gauḍeśwara*. The Oinwāra rulers maintained their autonomous status to a little west of Shahugarh, that is, upto Kandāha (in Saharsa district) and that is evident from an inscription of Narasimha.³ There is no doubt that by this time, the authority of the Oinwāra rulers was limited to a very small

1. B. B. Mazumdar—'*Vidyāpati*', Nos. 21, 229.

2. SHB—II. 132.

3. JBORS—XX—pp. 15-19; R.K. Choudhary—*Inscriptions of Bihar*.

area. Wherever they found an opportunity, they tried to expand and that brought them into clash with either the east or the west. Left to themselves, they devoted their energy towards the development of cultural pursuits. Their weakness was the opportunity for the rival forces.

Bengal's claim over eastern Tirhut had been an established fact since the days of Ilyās, if not earlier. Ruknuddin Barbak Shah simply continued the tradition. Mullā Taqia¹ tells us that Barbak Shah invaded Mithilā with Pathan soldiers like the swarm of locusts in 875 A. H—1470 A. D. He conquered Tirhut

and established his power. He also divided
Ruknuddin Barbak Shah Tirhut into two parts on the lines of Ilyā's (1459-1474) division. He established his power at Hajipur and handed over the rest of Tirhut to Bhairava simhadeva of the Oinwāra dynasty. For the collection of taxes and other dues, Barbak appointed Kedar Rai.² Both Mullā Taqia and Vardhamāna (author of the *Daṇḍaviveka*) confirm that Bhairavasimha defeated Kedar Rai. Vardhamāna says—“He having divested *Sri Kuṣeṇa* of his entire army, engaged him as his own soldier, according to sweet will, and who, highly powerful as he is, considers Kedar Rai, an exact prototype of the Gauḍa, as his own wife, *that is*, entirely submissive to him” (verse 4). Vidyāpati (in his '*Durgābhaktitarāṅgi*'—introductory verse) says—that Bhairavasimha, during the reign of Dhirasimh had subjugated the lord of *Panchagaṇḍa*. Since this statement of the poet stands verified at the closest scrutiny, we have no reasons to call into question his earlier reference to the same title applied to Nasir Shah.

Thakur³ failed to identify Kedar Rai because he had no access to the *Bayāz* of Mulla Taqia and similarly Askari could not say any thing about its identificaton on account of his ignorance

1. *Māsir* (Patna-1946)

2. Vide-Vardhamāna—*Daṇḍaviveka*-Verse 4.

गौडेश्वर प्रतिशरीरमति प्रतापः केदाररायमवगच्छति दार तुल्य—

(A.S. Society *Mss*-P. 1)

3. *TAM*-332.

of the Sanskrit sources.¹ Kedar Rai was the representative of the Bengal Government at Hajipur. Bhairavasimha had already acquired reputation as a warrior and when he came to the throne, he thought it derogatory to allow Kedar Rai to collect taxes from Tirhut. The result was the conflict and Kedar Rai was worsted. When the representative (Nāib) was attacked and worsted, Barbak Shāh advanced to reduce the refractories to submission. Victory smiled on Barbak and the matter was settled in his favour. The Tirhut ruler stood defeated. Soon after the withdrawal of Barbak Shah, Bhairavasimhadeva ascended the throne of Mithila in about 1475 A. D. and asserted his independence. This is evident from the discovery of two silver coins of Bhairavasimhadeva from the heart of Tirhut. These two coins are dated in the Śaka era and were issued in the fifteenth regnal year. It appears that after the withdrawal of Barbak, he defeated the Bengal army and established his hegemony over both the wings of Mithila like his predecessor Sivasimha. To mark the occasion, he issued silver coins, only two extant specimens of which have come down to us. Bhairavasimha's victory over the wide area, so long held by the Bengal rulers, rightly earned for him the title of *Panchagaudeswara*. The coin, in question, has been edited by me in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* and later in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (Patna) and subsequently by D. C. Sircar in the *Epigraphia Indica*. He kept the Bengal Sultan at bay during his life time but the hard earned freedom was shortlived as we find that soon after his death, the Bengal Sultan began to ravage parts of Tirhut with successive invasions. Barbak was succeeded by his son Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah (1474-1481). Some of the silver coins of Shamsuddin were discovered in 1945 in Barh Pokhar near the Pathan settlement of Bahwarah.² The mention of Jor and Barur, the latter identified with a pargana

1. CS—op. Cit.

2. These coins bear the legend—"Kalma Taiyyabā and Darband"—on the reverse—"Shamsuddiniyawaddin Abul Muzzaffar Yusuf Shah Sultan ibn Barbak Shah Sultan bin Mahmūd Shah Sultan, the Fort near Pokhar is called "*Kopagarh*".

of the name in Purnea district, in a Dinājpur inscription of Barbaka's reign (Dated 1460 A. D.) indicates the extent of his dominions north of the Ganges. This further supports my point of view that even before the actual conquest of Mithila by Barbak, he continued to rule over its eastern portion since his accession. His *Dinajpur inscription* refers to the officer who was ruling in the territory. That officer was Nasrat Khan, the *Jangdār* and *Shiqdar* of the affairs of Jor and Barur (a pargana in Purnea) and of other Mahallas. His dominions extended upto Bhagalpur though the districts west of Monghyr lay within the Jaunpur kingdom.¹

Sultan Hussain Shah Shārqi, after he crushed *the now independent chiefs* of Tirhut² sometime after his accession in 862 A. H., led a successful raid against Kapileśwaradeva of Orissā. Shārqi's hold on Bihar is proved beyond any shadow of doubt. During 888 and 900 A. H., Hussain

Sultan Hussain Shārqi remained in the eastern part of his
Shah Shārqi kingdom, with Biharshariff as capital, ruling over Bihar and Tirhut with a revenue yield of

five crores of Dams.³ During this period, the Lodi occupation of Jaunpur was complete and Hussain had no alternative but to shift to the eastern part of his kingdom. A copper coin of the time of Hussain Shāh was discovered from Vaishali.⁴ Tirhut was thus the scene of struggles and counter-struggles. Evidences of Shārqi rule are not lacking. The exit of one meant the entrance of other in Tirhut, while the so-called local autonomous rulers were no better than silent spectators of the whole show that was being exhibited or displayed on the screen of Tirhut. Hussain Shāh is said to have devastated Tirhut. His sway over it is confirmed by the fact that he deported Tatar

1. SHB-II. 135.

2. There is no force in Prof. Ramanath Jha's statement that Bhairavasimha granted refuge to Hussain Shah Shārqi—Cf. JBRS—XLI—Part III. 276.

3. TA—III—276.

4. Archaeological Survey of India (AR—1903-4.) p. 89.

Khan Lodi in Sāran. All these greatly increased his fame in Bihar and Tirhut.

The last of the three Habshi kings of Bengal exercised sway over a part of Bihar including Champanagar in Bhagalpur, as is evident from a beautiful inscription in Tughra style,¹ recording the execution of a mosque in 897 A.H. by the great lord, Muatabar Khan, during the reign of Shamuddin Abu Nasar Al Muzzaffar, *Habshi rulers of Bengal* These lofty titles, assumed by the mad Abyssinian ruler, indicate his strength. The epigraph is an evidence of the continuity of Bengal's control over eastern part of Tirhut. This Habshi ruler had secured the able services of Hussain Shah, who later on founded an independent dynasty.

The rise of the Hussain Shahi dynasty in Bengal marked a new course in so far as the history of Tirhut is concerned. The Shārqis, the Lodis and the Hussain Shahis were trying to extend their power in North India and all were aiming to rise at the expense of others. The period is all the more important in the sense that it "saw the rise of the Afgan confederacy, *Contemporary powers* led at first by the *Nuhanis* (Lohanis) who succeeded in establishing a kingdom extending from Bihar to Kanauja and Sambhal. The Farmulis shone at their best in Saran and Champaran, and the Surs, led by Farid Khan, a *protege* of the *Nuhanis*, make their appearance for the first time in this period. The eventual triumph of Farid as Shershah was a triumph of Bihar."² The Bihar Afgans have played a very glorious role in the history of India and an independent work on the subject is yet a desideratum. They never gave up their independent attitude and even for an imperialist like Akbar, Bihar was a problem.

1. CS-p. 19-Text. — Bismillah-ir-Rahmān-ir-Rahim Qalan Nabia Alahis Salam. Man Bina Masjidan Fid duniya Bin Allalahu fil Akhirat Qasara fil Mamālik Alwathiq ba Taidir Rahman. Shamasudunya waddin AbunNasar Al Muzzaffar Shah As Sultani Khallad allah mulkahu wa Saltanthu. Benahu Kham-i-Azam Muatabar Khan Kar Furman Bāzuha? Minas Shahar-i-Mubarak-al-Mukarm Sanata sabaa tisyeen samaba Mayata 897.

2. JBRs-XLI-P. 357 ff. *Askari's article*.

In 1494 A.D., the Shārqi-Lodi contest reached a climax and Sikandar Lodi completely defeated Hussain Shah Shārqi of Jaunpur and sent him flying for refuge to Bengal. Alauddin Hussain Shah of Bengal showed kind treatment to this fugitive king and allowed himself to cross the frontier into Colgong and provided means for his comforts. The Jaunpur kingdom was swallowed up within the Lodi empire, which now extended upto the borders of Bihar.¹ Jaunpur was kept in charge of Mubārak Khān Nuhāni, father of Dariyā Khān. The political implications of the humanitarian act of Hussain Shāh of Bengāl were easily grasped by Sikandar Lodi. The extent of the Lodi Empire was a fact to be reckoned with, because it constituted a direct threat to Bengal and Bihar. Sikandar Lodi did not fail to grasp the growing importance of Alauddin Hussain Shāh's extension of power and immediately moved upto Tugluqpur on the Bengal frontier in 1495 A. D.

Bihar fell into the hands of Sikandar Lodi. The Sultan, then, proceeded to Tirhut and conquered it in 1495 A. D. He, then, returned from Tirhut and went to pay respects to Sarfuddin Muneri.² Another account is as

The Lodi interlude follows³—From Darwespur Sikandar advanced in all haste towards Tirhut. The 'Rai of Tirhut' came and submitted to his authority and offered some lacs of *tankās* in tribute and presents. Niamatullah says—"Rājā of Tirhut advanced to receive him with all humiliation

1. *SHB*. II, 145, Cf. *Riyāz*—135. In the beginning, Bahlol Lodi had to bear the brunt of Shārqi attacks and was reduced to a miserable status. His offer of peace terms was totally ignored by Mahmud and his brother Hussain. Bahlol succeeded in defeating Jaunpur.

2. *RAMT*-I, 416-7; Cf. *DMA*-I, 59; II, 96.

3. *JBR*S-XLI-III, p. 362 ff. *MTV*-213—says that Rāmabhadra Rupanārāyaṇa of the Oinwāra dynasty met Sikandar at Patna and has shown on the basis of "*Dvaitaviveka*" that Rupanārāyaṇa was a friend of Sikandar. Corroboration of this fact is lacking. Sikandar went to Tirhut and left his officers to receive the tribute. Also Cf. *ED*-V, 95-96; *MT* (Maāsir Patna 1946); *CB*-(Turko Afgan period).

and agreed to pay several lacs of *tankās* as fine, for the receipt of which the sultan left Mubarak Khan behind.”¹ Mānik-chandra, patron of Keśava Miśra of Mithila, was a vassal of Sikandar and a friend of Rāmbhadra Rupanārāyaṇas.² At Patna, on his return, the son of Khān-i-Jehan (who died in 901 A.H.), Ahmad received the title of Azam Humayun. Sikandar, then, ordered the army to be re-equipped afresh and start for Bengal expedition. Alauddin Hussain Shah of Bengal sent an army, under his son, Prince Danyal, to oppose the advance of the imperialists, sent from Qutlugpur³ and led by Mahmud Lodi and Mubārak Khan Lohani. A treaty was signed at Bārḥ⁴ whereby in addition to a mutual assurance of non-aggression against the respective but unspecified dominions, the Bengal ruler gave an undertaking not to harbour the enemies of the empire.

After the death of Mubārak Khan Nuhāni at Patna, the government of Bihar was confided to his son Dariyā Khan Nuhāni. The government of Tirhut was entrusted to Āzam Humayun, wrongly called the governor of Bihar.⁵ He, then,

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1. *TKL* (S) p. 128-29 (Afghan Dynasties) Cf. *MT*—gives the name of the ruling King, Rāmbhadra.
 2. *MTV*-216.
 3. Makhzan has Tugluqpur. Sircar has accepted this name. Faristha gives the name Qutlugpur as pointed out by Askari. Kutlugpur is a village, 4 miles south-east of Maner. Sikandar advanced from Darweshpur Diara towards Tirhut and Askari is right in conjecturing this as that would have been a more convenient place for embarking on Tirhut expedition. Rāmbhadrapur, the village, named after the Tirhut ruler falls nearer to the site conjectured by Askari.
 4. *MEI*-I. 9—“.....opposite to the whole division of Bārḥ, all the channel is considered as belonging to Tirhut” Cf. *MG*-p. 34.
 5. *CHI*-III—During Sikandar's stay in Bihar, there was an acute scarcity of grains, and the emperor ordered complete abolition of the transit customs on grain and it remained in force till the time of Akbar (*JBR*S-XLI-III).

proceeded to Saran and dispossessed the Hindu Zemindars. He, then, returned to Jaunpur, where he stayed for six months. Thus Sikandar Lodi was able to bring Tirhut, the playground of rival forces, under the direct control of Delhi, though this yoke was not to last long. The subsequent events show that Tirhut, ere long, passed out of the hands of the Lodis. The existence of place-names, in different districts of North Bihar, associated with the Lodi rulers, confirms that they ruled over a part of it but there is nothing to support its continuity so far as Tirhut is concerned.

The process of disintegration, by which the Delhi empire was weakened and also as a result of Firuz Tugluq's economic policy, continued unabated till a number of ruling chieftains arose in different parts of India. After Firuz, Delhi empire showed signs of decay, where the barons grew richer and more powerful. The whole of Hindustan was divided ¹ among innumerable tribal chieftains. The districts of Saran and Champaran were held by Mian Husain Farmuli, though effective hold, on these two districts, was established during the

The Farmulis hey-day of the Lodi Empire. Among the fifty-three Omrāhs of Sikandar Lodi, we have the name of Husain Farmuli as the Naib of Saran. We learn from the *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi* that Mian Husain Farmuli, the Jāgirdar of Saran and Champaran, had taken many thousand villages of the Hindus, besides those comprising his Jāgir. Saran and Champaran were called Jalakhet or field of water. He and his Commander, Mughulā Karārāni, crossed the river and surprised the Raja of Champaran in his fort on the other side and two hundred years of old Hindu estate ceased to exist and much-booty including a great quantity of gold was captured. ² An account of the capture of the king is nicely depicted in the following words—"It was reported from the watchtower that the Afgāns had arrived but the Raja would

1. *IHQ*-VII. 48.

2. *ED*-IV. 546.

not credit it and was engaged in his pastimes when the Afghans were upon him and forced him to fly for his life.”¹

Who was this king of Champaran? We have no clue to it in the Muslim sources. If we take the Muslim account, quoted above, into consideration, we learn that the dynasty, destroyed by the Farmulis, was 200 years old, and on that basis it can be presumed that the dynasty came into existence, some-
Tirhut in the old, and on that basis it can be presumed
last quarter of that the dynasty came into existence, some-
the 15th century time, in the 13th century. Practically we have no knowledge about the dynastic history of this part of Tirhut after Harasimhadeva. Champaran seems to have been separately mentioned since the days of Haji Ilyās. Zia Bārani and others also refer to it. Separate mention of Champaran, singly or along with Saran, does not preclude the possibility of its being under a separate ruling dynasty. Whether the Champaran rulers were the descendants of Harasimhadeva or of the native rulers, we can not say at this stage. What we know is that the territory was under the control of a Hindu dynasty, not, in any way, connected with Oinwāras of Mithilā who had their separate headquarters with a much reduced kingdom.

Though Bendall² takes the ruling family of Champaran to be descended from Harasimhadeva, we have no reasons to support him as such. Prthvisimha was ruling in Champaran in V. S. 1492 (= 1434-35 A. D.).³ He was succeeded by Śaktisimha, to be followed by his son Madanasimha. Madansimha was a very powerful king as will be evident from various sources.⁴ Madansimha's coin has been discovered along with

1. *Ibid*-547—For details, Cf. Sushilgupta publication of the *Afghan Dynasties*, p. 29 ff.
2. *JASB*-1803.
3. Cf. *ST*-88-89. Also *NDC*-MSS. No. 1508.
4. *NDC*-p. 51—सम्बत् १५११ (= 1454 A. D.).... श्री चम्पकारण्ये नगरे विप्रराज्य दैत्यनरनारायणस्यैत्यादि विविध विरुदराज्ये विराजमान महाराजाधिराज श्रीमत्सदनसिंह देवानां संयुज्यमान..... Another colophon fixes the date at 339 L. S. (1458 A. D.) but refers to Gorakshpur (or Gorakhpur)—छसं आवणसुदि..... महाराजाधिराज

Husain Shārqi's coin in Orissa.¹ These coins were of Vaisnava faith and that is proved by a set of coins discovered in Champaran region and now preserved in the British Museum. The coins legends are—"Govindacharaṇa Praṇava Maḍaṇa" and on the reverse "Śrī Champkāraṇye."² The dynasty held sway over Gorakhpur is proved by the various colophons of the manuscripts, discovered from Nepal. Champaran was probably the capital and one of the mint towns. Since the rulers of this dynasty issued coins in their own names, it appears that the family was of no mean importance. Madanasimha was the author of a rare *Dharmaśāstra* work, *Madanaratnapradīpa*.

In our efforts to find out the ruling Champaran contemporary of the Farmulis, we are confronted with another problem. The problem crops up on account of the existence of an inscription on the Asoka pillar at Lauriya Nandangarh. The legend is "*Nṛpaṇārāyaṇasuta Nṛpa Amarsimha*" and is dated V. S. 1556 (= 1499-1500 A. D.). I think that this Nṛpaṇārāyaṇa was no other than a scion of the Kāmeśwara or the Oinwāra dynasty.³ He was the brother of Arjuna, son of Tripura, as will be clear from the lines of Vidyāpati. Since he represented a different line altogether, he had no say in the ruling Oinwāra line, then held by Rāmabhadra Rupanārāyaṇa. Probably he was a petty land holder in a corner of Motihari, which was, then, ruled by another dynasty and was outside the jurisdiction of the Oinwāra kingdom. Rāmabhadra had only recently been subjugated by Sikandar Lodi and hence there was no possibility of any revolt as such against the Farmulis.

Thus a critical examination of the then events shows that the family of Madanasimha was the contemporary of the

श्रीमन्मदनसिंह देवानाम् विजयिनाम् शासति गोरक्षपुरे; p. 229. the Colophon says..... श्रीशक्तिसिंहात्मज महाराजाधिराज श्रीमदनसिंह देव विरचिते मदनरत्नप्रदीपे प्रायाश्चितविवेक.....सम्बत् ८४८ नेवार ।

1. *JOHRS*-July 1953.

2. *NDC*-p. 20.

3. Bhavasimha—Tripurasimha—Arjuna and Amara—Nṛpaṇārāyaṇa—Cf. Nagendra gupta *Padavali* No. 723; *Rambhadrapur MSS*-410; S. N. Thakur—*Vidyāpatika Visuddha Padavali*, Nos. 79, 86. "*The Oinwāras of Mithila*," (*JBS*-XI. Pt. II. p. 20).

Farmulis,¹ who had, by this time, subdued the local Zamindars. The districts of Motihari and Gorakhpur, whose borders are geographically one, were united under one king. Mm. P. V. Kane, on the basis of a single manuscript, traced his pedigree from one Mahipāladeva of Delhi. He does not supply us with the probable date (i. e. he gives us the date between 1300 and 1500 A. D.).² He further says—"Madanasimha and his ancestors are spoken of as ruling authority in the country about Delhi. Though he bears the high sounding titles, he was some feudatory chief under the Muhammadan rulers of Delhi." Kane's statement does not improve our knowledge in respect of Madanasimha of Motihari, whose rule extended upto Gorakhpur. He might have been a feudatory under Delhi but the fact remains that he issued his own coins. From the *Ānandāśram Manuscript* No. 2378, we learn that Madanasimha was a Kodaṇḍa Paraśurāma, or a veritable Paraśurāma in wielding the bow. No matter, whatever be the origin of Madanasimha, the fact is established beyond doubt that he ruled over a vast area extending from Champaran to Gorakhpur in the second half of the 15th century A. D. and was probably the contemporary of the Farmulis. Since we have no definite information about ĞNārāyaṇa and Amara or on what relations they stood to Rāmabhadra Rupanārāyaṇa, it is plausible to accept this Madanasimha, about whose prowess, there is no dearth of evidence, as a contemporary of the Farmulis. The Farmulis might have brought ruin to this family, because we do not hear anything about it afterwards in any source. In the present state of our knowledge, we can not go beyond this conjecture.

These Jāgirdars of Saran and Champaran succeeded in demolishing the then independent estate of Champaran. Whether they had any relationship with the king of Bengal or not, we can not say. Their territorial possessions excited the suspicion of the Afghan suzerain of Delhi. According to Nizamuddin and Faristha, Delhi sent Haji Sarang with some troops (A.H. 915-1509 A.D.) to win over the gover-

1. ST-83.

2. *History of the Dharmaśāstras*-Vol. I. p. 391.

nor's troop or to seize him in person.¹ We further learn that another attempt on the part of Hussain Shāh Shārqi to recover Bihar was made possibly with the help of Bengal Sultan. Sultan Jalaluddin Shārqi,² who was married to the daughter of Nasrat Shāh, was the son of Hussain Shārqi. Hussain invaded Bihar, then protected by Daryā Khān.³ The table turned after the death of Sikandar Lodi.

The expansion of Lodi authority in Bihar was much against the liking of Alauddin Hussain Shāh of Bengal (1423-1519), one of the most enlightened kings, Bengal has ever produced. Most of his inscriptions (a) *Alauddin Hussain Shah* have been discovered in Bihar. Blochman received, from General Cunningham, the rubbings of three mosques's inscriptions, out of which one was from Monghyr.⁴ The Monghyr inscription, dated 903 A. H., mentions Prince Dānyāl, who had entered into the treaty of Barh with Sikandar Lodi. The inscription of Bonhāra,⁵ near Banka (Bhagalpur), is dated 908 A. H. and the third inscription of Cherand,⁶ (Chapra) is dated 909 A. H. The Cherand inscription was on a mosque, damaged by the earthquake of 1934. There is another inscription in the mosque of H. Shahbaz of Mulnaḥhak at Bhagalpur, from which we learn that it was erected in Rajab 912 by Sar-i-Laskar Majlis Muhammad bin Yusuf, the commandant of Hussain Shah.⁷ The grand lord, Nazir Khan, had erected another mosque with inscription, dated 916 A. H.⁸ Buchanan says that Hussain

1. *JBRS*-XLI-III.

2. Cf. Babar's *Memoirs*.

3. *JBRS*-XLI-III.

4. *JASB*-1873-(quoted earlier).

5. *PASB*-1870-p. 112.

6. *Ibid*-297.

7. *CS*-p. 19. *Text*—Man Bina Hazal Masjid fil Ahad-is Sultan Allaiddinunya Waddin Abul Muzzaffar Hussain Shah as Sultan Binahu Sar-i-laskar Majlis Mahmud bin Yousuf fit tasai min Rajab Sanata isna wa Ashar wa tisa Mayat 912.

8. *Ibid*—the inscription is in the Begu Hajjam mosque, Patna City.

Shah annexed Gogri to the kingdom of Bengal.¹ He is said to have built a mosque there encrusted with carved tiles. It had no endowment. According to the inscription over the door, it was built in the year 920 A. H.

All these inscriptions prove that Alauddin Hussain Shah exercised control over different parts of Bihar. He was the most gifted ruler of the dynasty. He conquered the whole of Bhagalpur and secured the richer parts of it by strong fortresses. The Chhai pargana (*Chihy* of Glad-
Pargana Chhai win) of the district of Bhagalpur was under his control.² He retained control over Patna, transgangetic area and North Bihar after the withdrawal of Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517) whose officials tacitly accepted the domination for the time being. Mian Hussain Farmuli was allowed to continue to be incharge of Saran and Champaran by Hussain Shah. The *Ismailpur inscription* of 906 A. H., noticed by Blochman, belongs to Mian Hussain Farmuli.³ We are told that this Rustam of the age was unjustly and unwisely killed by the order of Ibrahim Lodi.

These facts lend weight to the theory that the withdrawal of Sikandar Lodi from Bihar was followed by the reassertion of Bengal supremacy in the whole of North Bihar and Patna in the south. The coins of Muzzaffarshah Habshi, Hussain and Nasrat, minted at Fatahabad and Hussainabad, have been found in Tirhut. The silver coin of Hussain Shah was found at village Berma in Madhubani subdivision.⁴ There are remains of a mosque of the time of Alauddin Hussain Shāh

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1. *ADB*-p. 84. I am in search of this inscription, which is said to have been lost.
 2. *Ibid*-pp. 498, 500—for details. During the time of Hussain Shah, Chai pargana was divided among a great many petty Zemindars under the management of a Tehsildar or steward to whom certain Rajput named Yaswant, was appointed Zamadar or Commander of his guard.
 3. *JASB*-1875.
 4. On enquiry it was revealed to me at Madhipura that Shah-garh (commonly called Shahugarh) was founded and established by Alauddin Hussain Shah. A big coinhoard, containing his

at Bhaura in the district of Darbhanga.¹ Signs of fortifications in Jaynagar area are attributed to Hussain Shah. His conquests of North Bihar were rounded off by the annexation of the whole of Tirhut, including the trans-Gaṇḍak area. This appears to have followed soon after, either in accordance with the terms of the treaty or as a result of the military operations started immediately on Sikandar's withdrawal. The expansion in Tirhut might have been facilitated probably upon the initiative of the Farmulis who escaped to Bengal and sought refuge with him.² By this time, the kingdom of Tirhut had fallen into pieces and had become the chess-board of political opponents. The pressure from both sides (east and west) continued. Probably it was after a reconquest of Tirhut that Hussain Shah proceeded against Kāmrupa and Assam. The Muslim historians have mentioned a number of rulers as having been overcome³ and one such ruler was Rupanārāyaṇa.⁴ Both the editors of the *Cambridge History of India* (Vol. III) and *History of Bengal* (Vol. II) are silent on the identification of these names. Rupanārāyaṇa of this list was no other than Rāmaḥhadra Rupanārāyaṇa of Tirhut and certainly a feudatory of Bengal ruler and not otherwise as held by Sri Jadunath.⁵ The ruling chief of Tirhut was undoubtedly a feudatory of Bengal, as will be evident from the fact that his rule in this

coins, was discovered about a quarter century ago. During the time of the Kosi erosion in 1934-35, buildings from underdeaths were seen topping down. It was an important place during the time of the son of Illyās. For details. Cf. BG-Gazetteers. (Old edition)

1. DG—pp. 143 and 149. (Old edition)
2. SHB-II. 145-6; Cf. JBRs-XLI-III. Riyāz. pp. 133-46 JASB-1874, p. 304.
3. CHI-III. 272. Cf. PIHC (Waltair 1953) pp. 191-93.
4. Riyāz-134.
5. SHB-II. 147, fn. 1.—The point is not free from doubts Cf. PIHC (Calcutta-1955) my article on the *Bhagirathpur Inscription*; Cf. my "A rare silver coin of Rāmaḥhadra of Mithilā"—in the JNSI-1958. and its reply by Dr. D. C. Sircar in the EI.

region was continued by his son. A son-in-law of Hussain Shah, named Shah Alam Badruddin, dwelt at Shah Alampur in the Nehnagar division of Purnea. He dedicated a monument now standing to a Pir named Shah Omar Daneshmandi and built a road upto Morang. His another son-in-law, Mir Mazles Ghāzi is also associated with North Bihar.¹ Hussain's forces came upto Gondwānā in Purnea. All these confirm that Hussain Shah was in absolute mastery over the whole area from Saran to Purnea.

Alauddin Hussain Shah was one of the few rulers of Bengal who raised its status to a considerable height. It was under the hegemony of this dynasty that once again Bengal and Bihar came to be dominated by one sovereign, though there were other chiefs, governors and fortune-seekers here and there. The victorious tradition of Alauddin Hussain Shah was ably maintained by his illustrious son, Nasrat² Shāh (1529-1532). His coins have been found in Tirhut. An inscription of Nasrat Shah was discovered at Matihani (Begusarai) in 1950.³ It records the erection of a mosque though it does not give the date. He not only enjoyed the fruits of his father's labour but tried to make secure the kingdom of Bengal by his persistent efforts. The reconquest of north Bihar had only partially solved his problem. The Lodis had still their hold on the west approaches and thereby they controlled the entrance to Bengal.

It was only natural for Nasrat Shāh to realise the importance of this ugly situation which was fraught with dangerous possibilities. In 1521, he took advantage of the troubles at Delhi, now pressed by the Mughals, and broke the treaty which his father had concluded, invaded Tirhut and fixed his

1. ADP-p. 65, 88.

2. Riyaz-says that he was the eldest of his father's 18 children.

3. Text of the inscription—Bismillah-ir-Rahman-ir Rahim Nasrun Minallah was Fathun Qarib-Hazal Masjid al Jamārul (Azim Zille-Ila—Ad-Duniyauddin—as read by a friend of mine) Muazzam Nasir Shah Ibn Hussain Shah As Sultan Khalla dallah or Mulkaba wa Sultana tahu.

headquarter at Hajipur. After strengthening his hold on North Bihar, he took possession of the fort and the district of Monghyr, which was entrusted to one of his best generals, Qutab Khan. Thus within two years of his accession, the semblance of Delhi's control over Bihar began to crack and the territory from Jaunpur to Patna became independent. Nasrat Shāh thus became the master of a great portion of eastern India and controlled the strategic place of Hajipur, his capital in North Bihar. The *Nuhani* state was set up in Bihar. The common interest of security bound them together and this friendship became a cardinal point of Nasrat's foreign policy. He made an alliance with the eastern rebels and received a large territorial share when eastern provinces fell from Ibrahim Lodi's control. While the Lohanis and the Farmulis got country from Jaunpur to Patna, the territory north of the Tons river fell in the hands of Nasrat Shah.

Mulla Taqia says that Nasrat invaded Tirhut in 1527 (= 933 A. H.) and killed Kaṁsanārāyaṇa (1518-1532 A. D.), the last of the Oinwāras of Mithila, and annexed Tirhut (*Riyāz* 136). The question arises—What was the necessity of an invasion of Tirhut, when it had already accepted the sway of his father ? For a correct solution, it would be better to refer to the *Bhagirathpur inscription* ¹ of the time of Kaṁsanārāyaṇa. This epigraph is explicit on the point that the ruling king was a "terror in Tirhut to the king of the Yavanas" (verse 6). The Muslims were pouncing upon Tirhut from all sides. It may be conjectured that the weakening of the Lodi control and the death of Hussain Shah might have emboldened the last of the *Oinwaras* in attempting, certainly without success, to regain his independent status. His valour is evident from the aforesaid inscription. An account is preserved in the literary tradition, through which we learn that he was a con-

1. PIHG-(Calcutta 1955)-my article-quoted earlier. Cf. *JBRs*-XLI-III, p. 276. *Text of the inscription*-Verse 6—सुनुज्ज्यायान् यदीयो यवनपतिययाथायकस्तीरमुक्तौ राजाराजधिराजः समरसरभसः केस-नारायणो सौ..... Kaṁsanārāyaṇa was a terror in Tirhut to the king of the Yavanas.

temporary of Nasrat Shah.¹ Had he not been assertive there was no reason why Nasrat Shah should have undertaken a fresh campaign for rounding off the whole of Tirhut.² In this struggle, the Tirhut king was laid low on the field of battle and with him came the end of the Oinwāras. If Ghiyāsuddin Tughluq is to be credited with having ended the last independent kingdom of Tirhut, Nasrat Shah should be given the credit for finally doing away with the last vestige of the virtually independent chiefs of Tirhut, after which there disappeared the so called "virtual independent kingdom of Mithila." Though there may be difference of opinion about the date of this destruction, all accounts agree that Kamsanārāyaṇa was killed and Nasrat came out victorious.³

Nasrat Shah made Hajipur his centre of activities. Hajipur, on the confluence of the Ganges and the Gaṇḍaka, thus became a strategic base for all river-entrances into Bihar, and its importance came to be realised by all imperialists, who mattered in the middle ages. After Nasrat Shah, Hajipur became the centre of muslim expansion in North Bihar. Across the Gaṇḍaka, Nasrat's hold was widened to include the riverine tract on both sides of the Ghāgrā as far as Āzamgarh with his military control. An inscription in Sikandarpur

1. *Rāgatarāṅgini* (Darbhanga Samvat-1991)

रमुखि समाद समादरे समिदल नसिराशाह सुरताने ।

नसिरा भूपति सोरमदेशपति कंसनारायण माने ॥

Cf. J. K. Misra—*History of Maithili literature*—I. 220. He is known to us from other sources; Cf. R. Mitra.—*Notices*—VI. p. 34-35. His known date is L. S. 392, Vide *Nepal Notices*—p. 63, final colophon.

2. *Riyāz*—136.

3. The exact of the disaster of this kingdom is quoted here from Chanda Jha—अङ्कभिवेदरासि (१८८७) सम्मित शाकवर्षे भाद्रे; सिते प्रतिपदि क्षितिसूनुवारे—हा, हा, निहत्य कंसनासयणोऽसौ तस्याज सरसौ निकट शरीरम् ।

(a) 1447 Sak = 1525-26 A. D. (Chanda Jha).

(b) 933 A. H. = 1527 A. D. (Mulla Taqia—Cf. *Masir*)

(c) 930 A. H. = 1524-5 A. D. (*Riyāz*).

(on the Ghāgrā), dated 1527, records the erection of a mosque by his commandant.¹ Perhaps this was done after the conquest of Tirhut was complete. He appointed his brother-in-law Alauddin and Makhdum-i-Alam and placed them at Hajipur.² The latter held the fortress of Hajipur as a fief and later on revolted and befriended the Afghans, especially Sher Khan.

1. *JASB*-1873, p. 296.

2. *Riyaz*-136; *CHI*-III, 272; *SHB*-II, 153.

CHAPTER V

THE NUHANIS (LOHANIS), BABAR & THE AFGHAN VICTORY (1526-1583 A. D.)

We shall just pause here to discuss the part played by the *Nuhānis* in the territory of Bihar. The fact, that the powerful Jāgirdar of Saran and Champaran took refuge with the Bengal king, suggests some sort of their dependence. In those days of transport and other difficultis, Sikandar Lodi had no time to hasten to this side. It is true that he was too busy with the affairs at Delhi or nearabout. The veiled disaffection and the disservice of the Afghans grew under Ibrahim Lodi, who treated them as inferiors.¹ With the help of Dariyā Khan Lohani, Naib-i-Bihar, and others, most of Jalal's officers (Jalal, brother of Ibrahim), particularly Āzam Humayun, were won over and the name of the Sultan began to be used afresh in the *Khutba* and *Sicca* from Bihar to Jaunpur.

Ibrahim Lodi issued a *Farmān* to Dariyākhan Lohāni to exterminate the rebels and this was carried out. Mian Hussain Farmuli, ex-jāgirdar of Saran and Champaran, returned from Bengal and offered his services to the Afghān suzerain. At this period² an army was prepared for the purpose of attacking Rānā Sanga. Mian Hussain Khan, Mian Khan-Khanan Farmuli and Mian Maruf, who were the chief commanders in the army of Sultan Sikandar, *who* were the brave men of the age, and could have instructed even Rustam in the art of war, were placed under Mian Makhan, the commander-in-Chief of the expedition. The *Tārikh-i-Daudi* represents that this was of itself subjecting them to great indignity.

1. For details—*JBR*S-XLI-III. p. 369 ff. Askari's *article*.

2. *SIH* (S)—(Afgan Dynasties) p. 29 ff. The expedition against Rānā Sanga is not mentioned in other histories except the *Wabiat-i-Mushtaqi* and the *Tārikh-i-Daudi*.

Mian Makhan was instructed to seize them in the best way, he could, and send them prisoners to him. On learning the intention of Mian Makhan, Mian Hussain entered into a compact with the Rānā. After Mian Husain's departure, Makhan was discouraged. When Makhan asked Māruf to befriend Mian Hussain, Maruf replied—"I have eaten the salt of Sultan Bahlol Lodi and his offspring for thirty years..... and was the Chief Commander of his army..... brought seven maunds of gold from the Rājā of Bihar. Since Ibrāhim's accession to the throne, all sorts of upstarts have arisen, who accuse me of being faithless and rebellious. Even now I am ready to undertake any duty that may be assigned, and will not flinch from its performance." (Prof. Askari's translation in his article—*op. cit.*).

In both the accounts of the *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi* and the *Tārīkh-i-Daudī* there is no unanimity about the events after this. According to both these works, Hussain, in the end, was murdered at Chanderi by the order of the vindictive Sultan.¹ This fresh instance of Sultan's malice, injustice and unwisdom produced the same effect in the east as the alarming report of Dilāwar Khan to his father Daulat Khan did in the west. The Lohanis and other around Dariyā Khan had thrown off the yoke of dependence and decided to shake off the yoke of Delhi Sultan. He was still deliberating over his plans when death overtook him (1521-22 A. D.). The murder of Āzam Humayun was the first cause of the decline of the kingdom, for Fatah Khan,² his son, commanding ten thousand forces, and the governor of Bihar, now joined himself in Bihar with the son of Dariyā Khan Lohāni, Shāhbaz Khan by name. They openly rebelled against the Sultan and collected seventy thousand horses. Shāhbaz Khan assumed

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1. Askari—*op. cit.*—says that his old Jagir of Saran and Champaran were offered to him and the attendants with Chanderi and Sambhal.
 2. The *TA* and the *TKL* seem to ascribe an equal effect to the deliberate murder of Hussain Khan Farmull.

the title of Sultan Muhammad.¹ This insurrection was of a very serious nature as all Bihar ceased to obey the Sultan.²

The *Waqiāt-i-Mushtaqi* says that the *Khutba* was read in his name for two years and some months. In the *Faristhā*, the *Makhzan-i-Afghāni* and in the *Tārikh-i-Khān Jehan Lodi*, there is a fuller account of his rebellion. The *Waqiāt* also supplies us with ampler details of the insurrection and the subsequent proceedings but there are differences of opinion on many points among the contemporary historians. In the *Tuzuki-Bābāri*³ we have the following account—"Kanauja was in the possession of the refractory Afghāns, such as Nasir Khān Luhani and Maruf Farmuli and a number of other Amirs who had been in a state of open rebellion for two years. At the period, when I defeated that prince (Ibrahim Lodi) they elected Bihār Khān also Bahadur Khan, son of Dariyā Khān, as their king and gave him the name of Sultan Muhammad." Thus it is evident that he was also called Bahādur Khān. It is difficult to say whether Sultān Muhammad Shah Nuhāni exercised real authority over Bihar or was the nominal king. His role could not but have been uncertain, for the presence of so many chieftains was not conducive to settled government. Anyway, there is no room for any doubt that the Afghans were in a state of rebellion.

We can not ignore the epigraphic and numismatic evidences which speak for the might of the Hussain Shāhi dynasty of Bengal. We have seen above that Nasrat Shāh had extensive dominions over Bihar. The unsettled state of affairs might have emboldened Kāmsanārāyaṇa of Tirhut, against whom Nasrat had to weigh his arms. Both the Lodi imperialists and the eastern Afghans left no efforts to strengthen their grip.

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1. The *Waqiāt-i-Mushtaqi*, the *Akbarnāma* (An), the *Tārikh-i-Shershāhi*, *Tārikh-i-Salatīni Afghan* of Ahmad Yādgār and the *memoirs* of Bābar call him Bihār Khān.
 2. *SIH* (S)-p. 37. In spite of the fact that the evidences are conflicting, there is a good deal of unanimity among them with regard to events.
 3. *TB* (S)-p. 51-2.

over Bihar. While the area upto Āzamgarh was under the control of Nasrat Shāh, Naseer Khān Lohani headed the revolt, fought against the imperialist forces and being defeated, returned to Sultan Muhammad of Bihar. Forces were sent by Ibrahim against Sultan Muhammad (Bahadur or Bihar Khān) and they remained engaged in hostilities for sometime to come.

The open revolt of the eastern Afghans shortly before the death of Dariyā Khān must have occurred in 928 or 929 A. H. As the leading Afghan chiefs flocked to the east, Nasrat exerted himself to build up an eastern *Entente* and make Bihar, a centre of resistance against the Mughals. In August, 1526, the Afghans suffered their first reverse when Humāyun drove Maruf and Nasir Lohani from Kanauj and Jaunpur and annexed the Gangetic tract upto Ghāgrā south of the Tons. On the other side was Nasrat's territory and simply to disarm the Mughal hostility, he professed neutrality, maintained Babar's envoy at his court for about a year and evaded answer as to his attitude. It was through the sheer tactics of Nasrat's statesmanship, that Bengal was saved from the direct attack of Babar and consequently Tirhut, though partly won, did not feel the weight of Babar's army. Since the days of Muhammad Bakhtyār, Tirhut had been passing through a grim experience of miseries. Its position was no better than a swinging pendulum.

We have no direct proof about Babar's rule in Tirhut, though there are references to his authority being accepted by the people of Tirhut. In his description of some important places, Babar says, "There were many small *Babar and Tirhut* and inconsiderable *Rais* and *Rājās* in the hills and the wood country, yet there were the chiefs and only one of importance. One of these powers was the Afghans—from Bahrah (Bahera ?) to Bihar, the second was Sultān Muhammad Muzzaffar, the third was the Bahmani of Deccan, the fourth, Sultan Muhammad of Mālwā, and the fifth was Nasrat Shāh of Bengal." ¹ "They are mentioned

1. *Ibid*—pp. 48-50.

as great princes—here were numbers of other *Rais* and *Rājas*, many of whom had never submitted to the Mussalman kings.”¹ Obviously Tirhut has not been mentioned separately because it formed a part of Nasrat’s kingdom with its headquarter at Hajipur. Champaran was a separate kingdom and we have seen it, being mentioned separately earlier. What was the status of Hajipur is not known to us from this record. Tirhut was a separate kingdom, as we find Bihar and Tirhut, being mentioned separately.

Babar further says—“The countries from Bahrah (Bhirā ?) to Bihar, which are now under my dominion, yield a revenue of fifty-two crores, as will appear from the particular and detailed statement. Of this amount, parganas to the value of eight or nine crores are in the possession of some *Rais* or *Rājās*, who from old times have been submissive, and have received these parganas for the purpose of confirming them in their obedience.”² Bihar yielded 4,05,60,000, Ziaparan (Champaran), 1,55,17,506, Tirhuti Rājā, 250,000 *tanqā* Nuqrāh (silver coin) and 2,750,000 *Tanka* Siāh. There is the mention of a Rājā named Rupanārāyaṇa, whose identification is not clear.³ It can be asserted here with some amount of certainty that Rāmabhadra Rupanārāyaṇa can not be a contemporary of Babar. Tirhut has been sometimes separately mentioned and sometimes only Bihar has been mentioned. Ziaparan is Champaran. Babar’s advance along the Ghāgrā and his bestowal of Saran on the Sheikhzādā, Shah Muhammad Farmuli,⁴ however, affected Nasrat’s territory directly and we may well

1. *Ibid*—pp. 48–50.

2. *Ibid*—p. 6; 50, 51. Cf. Erskine—*History of India under Babar and Humayun*, I. 540; Leyden—*Memoirs of Bābar*, 334; *JASB*—1867—Pt. 1. p. 13; *TP*—391, *CHI*—IV—17 ff.

4. *ST*—p. 86; *JASB*—1915—; Erskine—op. cit. 541. The assessment might have been in the name of Rupanārāyaṇa by the officers. There is nothing positive to support the identification because Kamsanārāyaṇa was a contemporary of Bābar.

4. *SHB*—II. 154; *Bābarānāmā*—III. 675; *TB* (S)—refers to Afghan power on p. 47 and about Nasrat Shah on p. 48.

suppose that his garrisons west of the Gaṇḍak tried to defend their possessions by force of arms.

Babar proceeded towards Bihar in 935 A. H. (= 1528-29 A. D.) and visited Chunar.¹ Bābar says—"A messenger from Dadu and Jalal Khān, Bihar Khān arrived in my camp. The Bengalīs had watched them with jealous eyes..... had come to blows with the Bengalīs..... and were on their way to tender me their obedience..... I marched and halted in the pargana of Arrah."² Then follows various other details. For this period, Mullā Taqiā does not give us any information. Another authority asserts that Bābar made peace and retired.³ The battle of Ghāgrā (Gogra) broke the power of the Afghans. From the *Memoirs*, we learn that when Bābar invaded Bihar, the prince of Monghyr wrote to him accepting terms of peace for Nasrat Shāh (1529-30).⁴ It is significant to note that Bābar received a letter from Jalal Khan (son of Bihar Khān Behari) on April 1529 imploring that Sultan Muhammad had already died sometime before. The death of Bahar Khān Lohāni had deprived the eastern confederacy of one of the strongest supporters and the victorious advance of Bābar across the Ganges to Buxar now almost completely disorganised it. Sher Khān accepted a Mughal jagir in Bihar and with the assistance of Jaunpur, he now pursued his own interest at the cost of Afghan unity. The dream, of uniting the whole eastern provinces, under the auspices of a common confederacy, to fight against the growing menace of Mughal imperialism in this area, could not become a reality owing to the defection of some of its members. The period, under review, is interesting so far as the history of Bihar is concerned.

The Lohāni State, under the boy king Jalal Khān, was

1. TB (S)—p. 73 ff. Cf. SIH (S) p. 47—"The Afghans, after being absolute rulers for seventy years, left their habitations, their goods and their wealth, and proceeded to Bengal and a complete dispersion of them ensued."
2. TB (S)—p. 73-74.
3. *Riyāz*—135.
4. MG—p. 35.

hardly in a position to continue the leadership. Nasrat, therefore, took upon himself the task of reorganising it. The pretender, Mahmud Lodi's seizure of Bihar, was countenanced by Nasrat Shāh. Jalal Khan fled to Hajipur to ask for Nasrat Shāh's armed intervention in the matter. Nasrat Shāh did not help and Jalal Khan was detained at Hajipur.¹ Preparations were made for Mahmud's grand military enterprise and all attempts were made to bring Sher Khān in this coalition against the Mughals. Mahmud and Sher Khān led two armies along the two banks of the Ganges to Churfar and Banaras, while Bibbān and Bāyazid moved north across the Ghāgrā to Gorakhpur.² Bibbān and Bāyazid failed to keep to the time schedule and were still in Saran,³ when Mahmud, on the news of Bābar's approach fled to Mahoba without risking a single engagement. Sher Khān withdrew and the southern campaign failed. Nasrat Shāh held the northern riparian tracts. Monghyr was his military headquarter. Sher Khān submitted to the Mughals within a month and other Afghans who had fled north across Ghāgrā wanted to follow suit. They had to be kept back with force by Makhdum Alam at Hajipur.

Jalal sent his submission to Bābar. The anti-Mughal confederacy, after various vain attempts, collapsed like a house of cards. Makhdum Alam at Hajipur was instructed to erect defences along the Gaṇḍak and post troops on the Ghāgrā-Ganges confluence. After the battle of Ghāgra, the Mughals crossed over into Sāran and at his camp in the village of Kundanban⁴ in the Narhan Pargana, Bābar spent sometime. Here he received Shāh Muhammad Maruf, on whom he had bestowed the country of Saran. Here he received in person the submission of Jalal Khān, who was now re-instated as a

1. ED—IV. 349; Cf. *Bābarnāma*, III. 664, 659, 676, TB (S)—quoted above.

2. *Bābarnāma*—III. 652, 659, 663–64, 676.

3. SHB—II. 155.

4. Also called *Gundaneh*, Cf. *Chapra Gazetteer*—p. 20.

tributary vassal in Bihar. He, then, marched to a village called Choupareh (Chapra).¹ A few days later, the Mughal envoy returned and brought letters from the "Laskar Wazir," Hussain Khān and the Shahzādā of Monghyr who signified their consent, on behalf of Nasrat Shāh, to Bābar's term of agreement.² Saran and Gorakhpur were bestowed on new Afghan partisans. The demand for the withdrawal of troops from Ghāgrā amounted to a cessation of the area west of the Gaṇḍak. Thus we see that Bābar foiled the plan of the Biharis and secured control over a considerable part of it. Though Monghyr continued to be the headquarter of the Bengal army after Nasrat Shah, under the command of Qutlu Khān, who was defeated by Shershah,³ its acceptance of the peace terms of Bābar signifies subservience. Had Bābar lived for few years more, the fate of Bihar would have been sealed, for good, by the Mughal authority. His settlement of Bihar shows that he realised the importance of this province.

Though Bābar had little time at his disposal to make necessary administrative arrangements either here or at Delhi, he made certain arrangements so far as Bihar is concerned. Some settlements were made with the Afghans, after the battle of Ghāgrā. With regard to Bihar,⁴ his settlement has some importance. The arrangements were as follows :—

- (a) he made land worth one crore Khalsa
- (b) he gave lands worth fifty lacs to Muhammad Nuhāni, who was a commander of the Mughal divisions under Askari Mirza at the battle of Ghāgrā.
- (c) he gave the remaining land to Jalaluddin Nuhāni.

Bābar's success or failure with regard to Bihar policy has

1. *Ibid*—Bābar gives an amazing account of a storm which took place on May 26, 1529. Cf. Erskine—*Memoirs*.

2. *Bābarnāma*—III. 569-76; *TB* (S) 74-75; *ED*-IV. 262; *CHI*-IV. 45-46; *JBORS*-VII. 45-47.

3. *HSAB*—XV. 64.

4. *PIHC* (Patna)-IX. 299 ff.

got to be judged by the fact that he did not live long to execute his imperialistic policy. While giving provinces to a commander, he appointed a Diwan to himself. Muhammad Zaman was the commander and Viceroy of Bihar, while Murshid Irāqi was appointed Diwān.¹ Had death spared this founder of the Mughal empire, history would have taken a different course altogether. Even after this arrangement, Tirhut seems to have continued under the domination of Bengal, which held sway over upper Bihar, north of the Ganges. Hajipur, the headquarter of the Bengal government, maintained its importance. Who ruled Tirhut, after the death of Kāmsanārāyaṇa, is not exactly known to us. The situation seems to have been chaotic and partial recovery of Tirhut area, on Hajipur section, can not be ruled out, as the following details will show.

After Bābar, we again come to a deadlock so far as the history of Tirhut is concerned. No definite data or evidences are available for the study of the period till the time of Akbar the great. Mullā Taqia Humāyun simply says that Tirhut became a Pathān settlement. Humāyun, the son and successor of Bābar, was the most ill-fated king. Taking advantage of the generous nature and liberality of Humāyun, Hindal, the Governor of Tirhut,² had allowed Sher Khān an opportunity of extending and consolidating his territories in the regions to the west of Bengal. At the same time, the Governor of Kanauj, Nasiruddin, also revolted. Humāyun must have shuddered to think of the disaster Hindal's indiscretion foreboded for the kingdom. Humāyun sent Sheikh Bahlol to dissuade the prince from his seditious intention and to persuade him to come to king's side. Sheikh's embassy to Hindal failed to produce any satisfactory result. Instead, Hindal at Zahid Beg's suggestion chose to place himself on the throne and when the Sheikh protested, he was killed. Sher Khan took advantage of the situation, captured Banaras, and killed the Governor, Mir Fazli, there

1. CB—p. 183.

2. S. K. Banerjee—*Humayun Badshah* (O. U. P.)—1938, pp. 214—

17. The above account is based on this book.

by breaking the third chain of Mughal communications, the first two having already been broken in Tirhut and Kanauj.

There are reasons to believe that Humāyun exercised some control over Tirhut. Without some sort of political control, Hindal could not have been the Governor of this area. His influence extended as far as Purnea. While the battle between Sher Khan and Humāyun was going on, Purnea supplied the latter with some rough levies, but these were nearly not so numerous as might have been expected from the size of the district.¹ North Bihar had been the important seat of Shuttari Sufi saints since very early days. We find Humāyun making a grant to such a saint, which suggests that his control over it was real. Mir Qutubuddin, Shaikh Abdul Hai Chisti, Makhdum Shahi Sultan of Darbhanga, Makhdum Syed Hasan of Saran and his son, Pir Damaria of Hajipur, Raja Qattal of Darbhanga, Maulana Khwāzā Ali of Teghra were some of the important saints of the middle ages in Tirhut.

The author of the *Maadaan-ul-Asrar* refers to and names himself "as this mean slave of God, Mohammed Qazin bin Ola Bin Alam Tirhuti Maneri." Ismail was deputed to preach the Islamic faith in Tirhut and the southern portion of Muzzaffarpur was the special field of his activity. We are told by Mullā Naseer (*Maqabir-i-Aulia-Bihar*) that Humāyun had bestowed a considerable property in Tirhut on saint Abul Fatah Hadiatullah Sarmast, who lies buried at Tankol near Hajipur, for the expenses of way farers etc., which was confiscated from his son Rukn Alam by Sher Shāh.² The possibility of Mughal penetration in Tirhut can not be questioned, since this type of grant would not have been made without any authority. Nasrat's exit from the scene after 1532 A. D. might have facilitated Mughal penetration and its consequent absorption by Shers Shah. Pharkiya pargana is said to have been inhabited by the lawless tribes in those days. Their depredations

1. *HSAB*—XV. p. 221.

2. *JBR*—XXXVII. Pts. 1-2; pp. 67, 73, 76, 77—*Cf. GS* (1957) for details.

were reported to Humāyun, who, it is said, sent Rajput Viswanath Rai to restore order.¹

The death of Bābar on December 20, 1530, let loose the forces of disorder in eastern India, where the Afghans had assumed position of independence. The movement against the Mughals gained ground and the Afghans rallied round the personality of Sultan Mahmud Lodi. Sultan Mahmud Lodi was no match for Shershah, who was destined to shine in the cloudy political firmament of eastern sky in no time. He was the ablest-man of his time. By fishing in the troubled water of his time, he came out successful. Fortune smiled on him and his bravery, coupled with the force of circumstances, enabled the Afghans to eclipse the Mughal power for the time being. The acquisition of Chunar was his greatest asset. The eastern Afghans of Hajipur, Champaran and Saran, led by Bibban and Bāyazid raised a formidable rebellion in Bihar in 1531. Shershah knew that the Afghans were disunited and he made attempts, certainly with success, to take advantage of the situation.

The assertion of the Surs both against Delhi and Bengal was a remarkable factor in the first half of the 16th. century A. D. For three generations, the Nuhāni Khaskhail Afghans exercised independent sovereignty over Bihar, while the Farmuli Afghans ruled over Saran and Champaran. Dariya's son Bahadur, entitled Muhammad Shah died in about 1528-29 A. D., leaving his son Jalal Khan as the titular ruler of Bihar and his mother Dadu acted as the regent. Farid Khan was appointed tutor to his son Jalal by Bahadur. Farid, later on, came to be called Sher Khan. He got several estates including the one at Sasaram. There are interesting accounts and stories about Sher Khan in the *Waqiat-Mushtaqi* and the *Tarikh-i-Daudi*. These accounts give us an idea of the ambitious nature of Sher Khan.

1. ADB—p. 506. The possibility of such events can not be ruled out, as we know from authoritative sources that Humayun came upto Gogri (opposite Monghyr) which falls in Pargana Pharkiyā.

We have seen that Sher Khan had entered the imperial service under Bābar. He had accepted Mughal jagir in South Bihar. In 1529, when Mahmud Lodi emerged on the scene of Bihar, the regent left the whole administration in the hands of Sher Khan, who had, by this time, submitted to the Lodis. By thus acting along with the other eastern Afghans, Sher Khan had saved Bihar from Bengal. In no time, the tutor and the guardian of the minor ruler (Jalāl Khan) of Bihar, and subsequently the Naib-us-Sultanat, supplanted his protegee and became the *defacto* and *dejure* ruler of Bihar and thereby foiled the combination of the Lodis, the Nuhanis and Bengalis by fighting successfully against them. Bihar was the main field of his activity.

After the death of Nasrat Shah of Bengal (1532 A. D.), the deposition of Firuz (1533 A. D.), Ghiyāsuddin Mahmud (1533-38) came to the throne of Bengal. The Governor of Hajipur refused to acknowledge his suzerainty and allied himself with the deputy ruler of Bihar and prepared for the revolution. This nipped in the bud the projected alliance of Nasrat Shah. Mahmud talked openly about his alliance with the Lohanis. By this time, the alliance between Makhdum Alam, the governor of Hajipur, and Shershah was an established fact.¹ Mahmud wanted to break this alliance. The despatch of Qutub Khan, governor of Monghyr, in 1533, for conquering the country of Bihar,² though designed against Makhdum of Hajipur, was really meant for the destruction of Sher Khan's power. Qutub's defeat at the hands of Sher Khan was latter's first great success in the struggle, which afterwards placed him on the throne of Delhi.³ It is held that Mahmud of Bengal had the secret support of the Nuhānis.⁴ The result was as it should have been. Makhdum and Sher.

1. *Riyaz*—140; *JASB*—1873. p. 296; *Briggs*—I. 537, 553, 555, 560, 572; *RAMT*—469-70.

2. *Riyaz*—140.

3. *MG*—35. Monghyr was the scene of battle between the Afghans and the Mughals.

4. *SHB*—II. 160.

Khan became friends and began to oppose the combination of the Bengalis and the Lohanis. According to Ahmad Yadgār, Sher Khan defeated and slew Qutub and obtained valuable stores and treasures.¹ Makhdum received Sher Khan's envoys at Hajipur. Makhdum entrusted to him all his treasures to be held by his friend in safe custody. Makhdum was killed in the battle.

Sher Khan's professed neutrality to Humāyun was taken seriously by the latter. Humayun had proceeded to Gujrat, leaving Chunar at the disposal of Sher Khan, who later siezed the large property of Bibi Fatah Malka. She appears to be at Hajipur at that time. Shers Shah gave her only two parganas. The large wealth, accumulated by the Bengal governors at Hajipur and Monghyr, provided him with the sinews of war.² The contest against the governor of Monghyr was a remarkable one in the career of Sher Khan. The violent contest had taken place at Nurpura (in Begusarai Subdivision), an important settlement, "not far from the tongue of the river."³ The contest culminated in the slaying of Qutub Khan, governor of Monghyr. The Afghans had rallied in response to an appeal by Sher Khan; who was now emerging as the most powerful man. Mahmud of Bengal had taken possession of Bihar. In 1534 A. D., a powerful army under the command of Ibrahim Khan was again sent against Shers Shah. Shers Shah gave a crushing defeat to the Bengal army at Suryagarhā. Ibrahim Khan was slain and Jalal fled to his protector. The battle of Suryagarhā has been rightly regarded as one of the most decisive events in the history of medieval India.⁴ As a result of this particular event, Shers Shah was left the undis-

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1. ED—IV. 333 ff. }
ED—V. 180 ff. } Jalal, to get the support of Bengal against Sher, threw himself under Mahmud's protection and accepted his vassalage.
 2. GS (1957), p. 15. For Shers Shah's appeal to the Afghans and other details. See *Ibid.* p. 15 ff.
 3. *Ibid.*—p. 16.
 4. *Ibid.*—p. 18 ff.

puted master of Bihar. In 1535, he completed the annexation of Bhagalpur. Mahmud was now reduced in power and strength, Humayun was busy with Gujarat and the Lohanis were practically out of question. All these factors, after Suryagarha, firmly placed him on the road to kingship.

Sher Shah proceeded, again, to reduce his erstwhile enemy, Mahmud of Bengal, through Teliagarhi. While Humayun was busy with western India, Sher Shah had certain advantages. He strengthened his position in Bihar and advanced into Bengal. He was held up, for the time being, at the pass of Teliagarhi by the forces of Ghiyasuddin Mahmud of Bengal, but finally compelled him to retreat to his capital at Gaur. Sher Shah had advanced along the Ganges and had left Jalal there. During the blockade Mahmud sought help from Humayun and receiving none fled by boat to Hajipur and the city was taken soon after. Pursued by Sher Khan's troops, Mahmud barely escaped with his life and reached Humayun's camp severely wounded. North Bihar, thus, provided Mahmud with a shelter in his necessity. With the submission of Bengal, Sher Shah now became the master of a big territory extending from Gauda to Monghyr. According to the *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, his march lay north of the Ganges through Tirhut. His control over the north and south Bihar was complete.

The fugitive Bengal ruler, Mahmud, sent a message to Humayun, through his envoy, in the following words—"The Afghans have seized the fort of Gauda, but most of the country is yet in my possession, let not your Majesty trust to Sher Khan's promises..... I will join you....." Humayun ordered his victorious standards to be set in motion towards Bengal. On his way, Humayun unwisely chose to beseige Chunar which afforded much needed time to Sher Khan to consolidate his hold in North Bihar. As an isolated military exploit, the capture of Chunar was notable, but the time, occupied in its reduction, was wasted. In 1538, Sultan Mahmud had fled towards Bihar. Mirza Hindal was ordered to cross the Ganges with his division and move on to Hajipur.¹ The emperor

1. RAMT—I, 469-70.

himself proceeded towards Bengal.¹ Shershah had been the master of Gauda before the reduction of Chunar and had returned to Bihar to punish one of the refractory Zemindars.

The fugitive Bengal Sultan fled from Hajipur to Patna, and then to Maner and joined Humayun at Darweshpur. Mahmud was assured of all possible help.² The effort was without any success. Shershah's victory was the victory of the Afghans and the failure of the Mughals to be the rulers of India at least for a temporary period. At Maner, Humayun made arrangements to intercept the retreat of the Afghan army from Bengal. Shershah, through the help of his intelligence section, came to know of Humayun's designs in sending Hindal to Hajipur. Shershah made his way to Monghyr and ordered Shuja Khan to evacuate it and to return to the fort of Giddhaur. He ordered his son Jalal Khan and also Khawas Khan and Haji Khan Batni to block the expected advance of the imperial army at Teliagarhi Pass.³ Mirza Hindal was permitted by the emperor to depart from Kahalgaoon to his new fief in Tirhut and Purnea.⁴ Humayun had left him in North Bihar simply to secure supplies and communications. Hindal neglected his duties and there were grounds for suspecting his loyalties.⁵ Humayun intended to proceed to Monghyr. Khawas Khan set fire to the gate of Monghyr and captured the town. Instead of joining Askari at Kahalgaoon, Humayun, marched along the north bank of the Ganges.

1. *ED*—IV. 363. Cf. K. R. Qanungo—'Shershah' 159.

2. *Riyaz*—143; Cf. Qaauungo—*op. cit.* 166; *ED*. IV. 364, Wherein it is stated that Humayun did not receive him kindly and Mahmud repented that he had come.

3. *CHI*—IV. p. 29; Cf. *CS* (1957) p. 23.

4. *CS* (1957)—p. 24 ff. Humayun's hold over Purnea and other parts of North Bihar seems to have been an established fact. In the war between Shershah and Humayun, Purnea supplied the latter with some levies. Humayun is said to have granted to Saiyad Khan Dastur, a Sanad, conferring on him together with the title of Kanungo, the Zemindari of Suryapura (Purnea in 1545 A. D.)—Cf. *PG*—p. 35 and 194.

5. *CHI*—IV. 30.

and arrived opposite Monghyr¹ (i.e., Gogri—Few miles south of Maheskhunt Railway Station—N. E. Rly.). Mirza Askari himself came, crossed the river and joined the emperor there. Shershah succeeded in cutting off Humayun's possible plan of attack. The treachery of Hindal and the lack of co-ordination among his own men accounted for his failure. In 1539 Humayun was again defeated. The Mughal governor of Bengal was defeated. With his rivals gone, Shershah returned along the north bank of the Ganges and consolidated his position.² Shershah had no match for political cunningness and resourcefulness in contemporary India.³ Tirhut, in his time, constituted one of the several sarkars in which the kingdom was divided.

After Shershah, Muhammad Khan Sur (governor of Bengal) ruled over Bengal and North Bihar.⁴ Islam Shah, the successor of Shershah, had appointed him to that post in 1545 A. D. The recent (1545-1553) discovery of two coins of Islām Shah from the district of Darbhanga lends support to the statement of the *Riyāz*. The coin is dated 956 A. H. (= 1552-53). A study of the Suri coinage reveals to us that the genuine gold coins of Suri kings are extremely rare. In the Suri coinage we generally find that the name of the Sultān is written in Hindi,⁵ often very faulty. Though Shershah controlled the destiny of India only for few years, his innovations lay chiefly in two directions, i.e., the introduction of a new standard and increase in the number of mints, the object being to provide "an ocular proof of sovereignty to his subjects in most distant provinces of his government."⁶ On the basis of the above numismatic evidence from the heart of Tirhut,

1. When Humayun reached Monghyr, Garhi was under the control of Jalal Khan. Cf. *Akbarnāmā*. (Eng. Trans.) 333.

2. *CHI*, IV, pp. 31-35.

3. *SHB*—II, 165.

4. *Riyāz*—147 fn.

5. C. J. Brown—*op. cit.* pp. 90-91. For coins, *Ibid.* Plate X. 3, 4.

6. *Ibid.*

we can safely conclude that he held sway over this part of Bihar.

The death of Shershah, the brilliant product of Bihar, had certainly left the political situation at sixes and sevens and all was not well at Delhi. It is not possible at this stage to assess the exact nature of the Sur dominion after him. Islam Shah ruled for sometime over different provinces. His death brought in its train the dissolution of the newly established Afghan empire. His only son Firoz was placed on the throne and Taj Khan Karrani was made the *Wazir*.¹ As a result of the court-intrigue, he was murdered within a few days. Bengal broke off its connection with Delhi.² Mamrez Khan came to the throne³ and assumed the title of Adil Shāh. The *Makhzan-i-Afghani* says that this name was changed to 'Adali', which according to Dorn signifies "foolish", also called elsewhere 'unjust' and according to Faristhā "blind." According to the *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*, he was raised to the throne with the title of Sultan Mahmud. He is said to have gained the whole country from Delhi to Rohtas. The Sur Viceroy in Bengal in 1553 was Muhammad Khan of the same clan, who declared his independence and assumed the title of Shamsuddin Muhammad Shah Ghazi. He was soon murdered. Adil appointed Shahbaz Khan as his governor, but Shamsuddin's son Khizir Khan *Ghiyasuddin Bahadur* crowned himself near Allhabad and took the *Shah* (1556-61) title of Ghiyasuddin Bahadur Shah in 1556, invaded Bengal and after defeating Shahbaz Khan, made himself the master of that province.

Bahadur Shah held a portion of Bihar as we find that during his reign a *Jami Masjid* was built at Rajmahal. He ruled for about seven years.⁴ Taking advantage of the dis-

1. *Tarikh-i-Salatin* (S. Gupta-In.) 63. ff. For details see foot-notes therein.

2. *SHB*—II. 170.

3. *Ibid*—Mubariz Khan, according to Sarkar.

4. *Riyaz*—148.

ruption of the Sur empire, various chiefs of North-eastern India had begun to raise their head. Bahadur Shah busied himself in suppressing them. He defeated Muhammad Adil Shah at a point between Suryagarha and Jahangira near Jamalpur. Later on, Bahadur was defeated and plundered by the Mughal general Khan-i-Dauran. He was succeeded by his brother Jalaluddin or Ghiyasuddin II (1561-1564) ¹ who continued his rule over Bengal and North Bihar. The rise of the Karrannis was a headache to him. Hajipur continued to be the headquarter of the governor of Bengal. He was succeeded by his son, who ruled for seven months and was murdered by one, Ghiyasuddin III, the latter was killed by Taj Khan Karrani. Thus ended the glorious Sura rule in Bengal and Bihar. ²

Before passing on to discuss the history of Mughal domination of Tirhut, we should pause here, for a while, to take into consideration two important points relating to the history of this region—

(a) the internal history of Tirhut after the fall of the Oinwāras;

(b) the rule of the Karrannis, the last independent rulers of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. We cannot present any study without a background of the contemporary local history. Without the history of the Karranni Afghans, any study of the history of Muslim rule of Tirhut will remain incomplete. The sources for the study of the then history of Tirhut are too meagre and even the latest work on the subject ³ is not explicit on their point.

Mystery surrounds the history of Tirhut after the fall of

1. *SHB*—II, 180. There is a slight difference of opinion regarding the actual dates between Sarkar and the *Riyāz*.
2. *Riyāz*—148-56; Cf. *AA*—II, 477.
3. *TM*—342. "Mithila tradition asserts that one Kayastha, Mazumdar, one Majlis Khan and others were immediate successors of the Oinwāras."

the Oinwāras. We have discussed the history of Champaran in the 14th.-15th. centuries. It is not known to us in what relations the Champaran kings stood to the Oinwāras. The problem of identification will not be solved until further evidence is forthcoming. Kāmsanārāyaṇa was the last king of the Oinwāra dynasty. He died in 1527. From 1527 to 1556 A. D., the history of Tirhut is thought to be blank and of no importance practically. According to Mulla Taqia, Tirhut, from the fall of the Oinwāras to the rise of the Mughals, was under the Pathan rule. We have seen above that both Humayun and Shershah controlled Tirhut in their days and their routes lay through it. Biharilal throws some sidelight on the disturbed period of our history, though his account is also not free from doubts.¹ According to Biharilal, the administration of Mithilā, for sometimes, was placed in the hands of a Kayastha Mazumdar.

We learn from another local tradition² that the name of that Kayastha was Keshava Mazumdar, who ruled Tirhut for about eleven years (1546-1557). He is said to have been a minister of the last Oinwāra king, Kāmsanārāyaṇa. He ruled for two years only (1549-50) according to another authority.³ After the fall of the Oinwāras, this Kāyastha Minister served faithfully under the Muslim rulers.⁴ In recognition of his faithful service, he was appointed as the 'Adhipati' and was honoured with the title of 'Mazumdar'. Jhā believes that he ruled for a year or so after which the condition of Tirhut went from bad to worse and continued as such for about nine years, when the rulers of the Khandwala

1. AT. 27-28.

2. R. B. Das—*Mithilā Darpaṇa*, p. 72. he says that the minister was the resident of Bhauraj; Cf. MTV-223-4; according to this account, he was the resident of Haithivāli.

3. *Mithilāṅka* (Mithila-Mibir-Maithili Section) p. 33.

4. MD & MTV—Cf. *Mithilāṅka*.

dynasty stepped ¹ in. Mazumdar is said to have been succeeded by a Maithil Brahmin named Majlis Khan. ²

In the absence of other evidences, it is not desirable to reject the tradition outright. Three traditional accounts agree to this point that there was one Kāyastha, Keshava Mazumdar, ruling over Mithilā after the fall of the Oinwāras. According to the author of the '*Mithilā-Darpaṇa*', Keshava was given the title of '*Mazumdar*' by some Muslim master. It is very doubtful if the Kāyasthas of Mithilā were ever in the habit of using the honorific title of '*Mazumdar*'. A gloss over the Kāyastha *Pañji* of Mithilā will convince us that this title was never in use here. Perhaps Das (author of *Mithilā Darpaṇa*) has confused the title with the actual Governmental designation, which ultimately became the family title of a section of the Bengal Kāyasthas.

We learn from the Muslim sources that when the institution of slavery took root in the very centre of the land, the Sultan looked upon its due regulation as one of his incumbent duties. To such an extent were the matters carried that there was a district Muster-Master or "*Majmūa-dār*" of the slaves; and a separate treasury for the payment of their allowances. ³ On the basis of this authority, we can say that this Keshava was originally a Muster-Master under some Muslim ruler and after the fall of the Oinwāras, he took advantage of the situation and asserted his independence. A manuscript, ⁴ containing the list of the rulers of Mithilā, in my possession, calls Keshava, a Diwan (Prime Minister) and a *Majmualdāra*. The said manuscript ascribes to him a reign of two years and a few months. How extensively the Hindus were employed

1. *MTV*—(Uttarārdha) p. 1.

2. *Mithilāṅka*—*op. cit.*

3. *ED*—III, 341.

4. It is a matter of great regret that the *MS*, in question, has been referred to in an article in the *PIHC*—1955, p. 200-210 as G. D. College manuscript. The author never consulted this *MS*, which is in my possession, and surreptitiously copied down the whole thing from a paper of mine, submitted to the *AIOC*-Darbhanga session (1948).

as revenue officers may be seen from the fact that the Arabic-persian *Shiqadār* and *Majmu'ahdāra* have become Bengali family names.¹

If any credence is to be given to these sources, we can say that, the Kāyastha Minister of Kamsanārāyaṇa² was not on good terms with the ruler and this enmity may lend support to the fact that he usurped the power. Various other factors combined to turn this Muster-Master into a full-fledged ruler of Tirhut. He must have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Sur dynasty, even after declaring himself independent. We have shown above that the later Surs continued to rule over Tirhut even after Shershah.

No positive evidence is there to prove the identity of Majlis Khan who is said to have ruled Tirhut for about three years. Biharilal holds that Majlis was originally a Brahmin who got the title of Khan from the Sultan of Delhi. There are numerous Brahman families in the district of Saharsa, even today, holding the title of 'Khan'. On enquiry, it appeared that the title 'Khan' was conferred on them in the mediæval period by the Muslim rulers. The title 'Khan' was one of respect and high social status. Majlis Khan might have been an important official during the time of the later Oinwāras. Perhaps he hailed from the eastern portion of Tirhut.

The period, between 1527 and 1557 A. D., is one of chaotic convulsions in so far as the history of Tirhut is concerned.

There is no unanimity even among the local recorders of event about the actual state of affairs, then obtaining there. Keshava Mazum-dār and Majlis Khan ruled Tirhut, but the nature of their rule is not known. We are told that for about seven or eight years, the Rajputas held the ground of Tirhut.³ The following kings are known to us from one of the traditional sources.

1. *JASB*—1873. p. 214; for details.

2. *MTV*—220 ff.

3. *AT*—p. 27. Perhaps they were Bhara Rajputas.

(a) Bishal Nārāyaṇa also known as Rupanārāyaṇa is said to have ruled for seven months only.¹ There is a reference to one Rupanārāyaṇa paying tribute to Babar.² He was certainly not Rāmabhadra Rupanārāyaṇa. A correct identification of Rupanārāyaṇa, paying tribute to Bābar, has not yet been possible, and we can not preclude the possibility of this Rājputa Rupanārāyaṇa, being one of such kings of a part of Tirhut, paying tribute to Babar.³ (b) Unmāda Singh is said to have ruled for 11 months and is said to have been succeeded by Khaḍga Singh;⁴ or (c) Kartār singh who ruled for about three years and two months.⁵ He was succeeded by (d) Kuseshwara Singh who ruled for five years and was followed by Manmatha Singh, said to have ruled for about seven months in 1556. These were probably impotent rulers.⁶ Nothing is known as to how, where and with what authority these rulers ruled? The tradition is preserved in a single account. The Gandhavariyā Rājputa tradition holds that they had to fight against the Bhar Rājputas. The Bhar Rājputas had to be totally finished before the Gandhavariyās became strong in Tirhut. The history of the Rājputas of Tirhut is still a desideratum and their family history, studied with the help of the Rājputa annals, may throw some light on the subject.

Before coming down to the history of the Great Moghuls, we shall pause to discuss here the rule of the Karrannis in Tirhut and their struggle against the Mughals.

The Karrannis—the last independent rulers They were the last independent rulers of Bengal, Bihar and Orissā. The Afgans in Bihar have worked miracles in the past and their attempt to carve out an independent principality for themselves, sometimes, met with success. The

1. ST-86.

2. TB-(S) pp. 50-51.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Mithilāṅka—op. cit.*

5. *AT—op. cit.*

6. *Mithilāṅka*—p. 33. The account of these Rājputs in Tirhut has been left out by all writers on the history of Tirhut. Few firmans of the Gandhavariya Rājputas are given in the *appendix* (translated copies as submitted in a civil suit).

Karrannis were originally the inhabitants of eastern Tirhut and it is from here that they took upon themselves the task of re-organising the Afghans against the authority of Delhi. Hence a study of the Karrannis in Tirhut is not only interesting but instructive as well.

During his long struggle with the kings of Shārqi dynasty of Jaunpur, Sultan Bahlul Lodi recruited his forces with bodies of Afghans from Roh, the highlands of Sulaiman Range, whose leaders received assignments in India for the maintenance of their followers. Among them was one Ibrāhim Khan Sur, a horse dealer according to Abul Fazl. He was a soldier who received assignments, as rewards for his services. He was descended from the Shamsabānids of Ghur.¹ This contention is not free from doubts. Ibrāhim had three sons and one of them, Hasan, had eight sons of whom the elder Farid was born some years before 1489. Hasan Khan succeeded to his father and received the parganas of Sasarām, Hajipur and Khawaspur Tāndā (in Tirhut) for the maintenance of five hundred horses.² Farid had been placed in charge of the two parganas of Hajipur and Khawaspur Tāndā.³ It was here that he mastered all the details of administration and rigorously suppressed bribery, extortions, brigandage and disaffection. In course of his campaign against Humayun, Jalal Khan, son of Sherkhan, left Khawas Khan in charge of Gaur.

The Karrānnis, also known as Kaṛālānis in Afghanistan, were one of the principal branches of the Pāthāns.⁴ Tāj Khān Karrānni, the founder of the line, was Taj Khan Karrānni— one of the chief officers of Shershāh,⁵ and the founder was elected to the *Wizarat* in the reign of Firoz Shah, eldest son of Islam Shah.⁶ According to the *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghānas*,⁷ he was sent

1. *CHI*—III, 38-48; 689.

2. *Ibid*—IV, 45.

3. *Ibid*—46 & 50. ff.

4. *Rosc—Glossary*—II, 476; III, 223; *DMA*—II, 54-56. Their home was in Bangash, modern kurram.

5. *SHB*—II, 181. Taj was the son of Jamal Khan.

6. *SIH* (S) p. 63 ff. for details. All authorities do not agree on this point.

7. *Ibid* (S)—p. 63 ff.

to Mālwa. At the advent of the chaotic situation in the court of 'Adili' at Gwalior (1553), he fled from that city and set up himself in the Gangetic Doab, but was defeated at *Chibramau*, at a distance of eighteen miles south of Farrukabad. At that time, his brothers were holding jagirs in Khawaspur Tāndā and some other villages on the bank of the Ganges. Khawaspur is situated at a distance of twelve miles west of the mouth of Teliagarhi pass and one mile south of Karangola (in Purnea district), where the Kośi falls into the Ganges from the north.¹

The defeated Khan, turning east by way of Chunar, joined them and carved out a small kingdom by siezing the public revenue, plundering the villages and conquering portions of West Bengal. The discontented Afghan chiefs rallied round him and once again the foundation of an independent Afghan kingdom was laid in the easternmost limit of Tirhut. For the time being the rebel force was crushed by Hemu in 1554. The *Makhzūn*² tells us that Tāj and Sulaimān fled to Bengal, gained possession over Gauḍa in addition to the South eastern districts of Bihar. Tāj died within a year of his victory over Bengal and was succeeded by his brother Sulaiman Karrānni.

On the basis of a new manuscript,³ Professor N. B. Ray has been able to bring few more points to light regarding the Karrānnis. He has discussed in details Karrānnis' relation with the Kākars, specially their humanity after Tāj Karrānni's defeat in the battle of Gaṇḍaka⁴. The exact date of the flight of Tāj from Gwalior is not known to us. We simply know that Tāj sustained a severe defeat when Adili led a numerous army against him. Tāj secured a large amount of wealth and joined his brothers Imād, Sulaimān and Illyās who administered and held the fiefs of Khawaspur Tāndā and a few other parganas on the bank of the Ganges. In conjunction with his brothers Tāj pointed the standard of

1. Rennell—Pl. 15-16.

2. DMA-116-20.

3. Asiatic Society Mss.—Catalogue No. 100.

4. BPP—LXXII. p. 19 (No. 135-1953).

rebellion and hostility against Adili. A battle ensued on the Ganges and Hemu crushed the power of Tāj.¹ After the second battle of Panipat (1556), the Kākars returned towards Hajipur, and having chosen the mouth of the river Gaṇḍaka as the place of their settlements, took up their quarters there. When Tāj came to know of their arrival, he sent an envoy forbidding them not to enter his territory. It is thus evident that Tāj held sway from Garhi to Hajipur. On the request of the Kākars to allow them to settle temporarily, Tāj asked them to render homage to him. They evaded and that led to a bitter struggle between the Kākars and the Karrānnis. The battle was fought on the Gaṇḍak and the Kākars were defeated. The Kākars, even then, determined to continue their fight. Though vanquished, they pulled on and ultimately repelled² the Karrānnis and secured the region round the Gaṇḍak for for themselves. The indecisive nature of the battle shows that the Karrānnis were, for the time being, ousted from the Gaṇḍak area. The Kākars distributed amongst themselves the region round the bank of the Gaṇḍak which had been wrested from the Karrānnis.³

Sulaimān Karrāni succeeded Tāj and consolidated his position. He had been the Governor of Bihar under Shershah and had established his independence in Bengal after the decline of the Sur power.⁴
Sulaimān Karrāni (1565-72) Under him, the Karrānis became a dominating factor in North-eastern India.⁵ Sulaimān was now the unquestioned ruler and his authority extended from Kamrupa to Orissa⁶ and he assumed the title of *Hazrat-i-Alā* or exalted presence. His diplomatic success was due to his Wazir, Ludi Khan, who kept the unruly ignorant Afghān

1. *Ibid*—p. 20.

2. *Ibid.*—p. 21.

3. *Ibid.*—p. 22.

4. *CHI*—IV, 110.

5. *LAB*—II, 166; *DMA*—123.

6. *Ibid.*—II, 176-78 for details; *LAB*—(S) p. 39-40; *ED*—V, 372.

captains out of foolish adventure.¹ While Akbar was busy at Chittor, Khan-i-Khanan, it was arranged, should pay a visit to Sulaimān and try to establish friendship between him and the Emperor, Arrangements, for all these, were made at Patna. Ludi Khan and Bayazid helped Sulaimān in achieving his end. They showed great respect and honour to Khan-i-Khanan.² From 1545 onwards, Sulaimān held Bihar for Islām Shāh. Sulaimān, desirous of establishing his independence, entered into an alliance with Bahadur Shah of Bengal. When Adil Shah retired before the advancing army of Akbar, Bahadur and Sulaimān attacked him near Suryagarha, west of Monghyr, defeated and killed him in 1557. The battle is located at Fatahpur, four miles west of Suryagarha. Sulaimān now practically became the ruler of Bengal and Bihar, though he acknowledged the sway of Akbar.³

A good account of the eastern provinces is preserved in the *Akbarnāmā*. Sulaimān Karrāni did not cast aside the thread of obedience. He was a great man and a great ruler. Upto 1572 he was the undisputed master of Bengal and Bihar.⁴ He died on the 11th. September 1572. The Afghans set up his eldest son, Bayazid, as the king. On account of his own folly and as a result of the conspiracy against him, he was killed. Daud, the younger son of Sulaimān, was raised to the throne with the help of Ludi Khan. About the same time, another Karrāni Chieftain in Bihar, Gujar Karrāni, who was the sword of the country, set up the son of Bayazid on the throne of Bihar. His capital was at Khawaspur Tāndā⁵ and had enormous army including a good number of river boats.⁶ He extended his kingdom upto Ghazipur.⁷ Daud

1. AA—II. 478-79; for details of about Sulaimān, Cf. SHB—II. 181-5; AN—(S) p. 37 ff.

2. AN (S)—p. 38.

3. MG—p. 35.

4. Riyaz—p. 153.

5. CHI—IV. 112.

6. *Ibid.*—111.

7. *Ibid.*

sent Ludi Khan against him with a large army. In order to bolster up his protege, Gujar implored Mughal assistance.¹

With Daud Karrānni, we enter upon a new phase of Bihar history, as the period, under review, saw the expansion of Mughal rule, though not completely, in Bihar.

Daud Karrānni The division among the Karrānni Afghans offered an opportunity to the Mughal imperialists who were out to destroy the last vestige of an independent Sultanate of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Hajipur, as usual, was the base of Muslim army in Tirhut and its importance became more and more pronounced in the heyday of Mughal imperialism. It has been rightly pointed out that the easiest and the most frequented route from Bengal to upper India was by land from Dinajpur or Maldah side, along the north bank of the Ganges, across the easy Kośī and Gaṇḍak to Chapra, Tirhut and even Jaunpur. Tirhut was occasionally under the control of the Bengal rulers. The two cities of Hajipur and Patna, facing each other, across the Ganges, often owned two different sovereigns.²

When the internecine quarrel was going on among the Karrānnis, Munim Khan was the warden of marches on the eastern frontier. He took advantage of the internal dissension and furthered the cause of his master by promptly despatching two detachments of troops to the aid of Gujar Khan.³ The Afghans' differences afforded golden opportunity to the Mughals and Munim proceeded from Chunar towards Bihār.⁴ Khan-i-Khanan sent Tangrikuli with a large force against Hajipur and Talibi against Patna.⁵ At the formation of

1. VQ—XIV. Part. III. p. 191. Cf. BA (S)—p. 49. "Bayazid succeeded him but in course of five or six months, the Afghans put him to death, and his brother Daud-bin-Sulaiman attained the sovereignty."

2. SHB—II. 201.

3. AN—III. 118-19; Cf. AN (S)—41.

4. *Ibid.*—28.

5. TA—II, 431; Cf. AN (S) p. 41 ff. for details. VQ—*op. cit.* p. 190; SHB—II. 185-86.

alliance between Gujar and Munim Khan¹ Ludi Khan, who had for the longtime cultivated friendship with the latter, saw the wind taken out of sail, and quickly adjusted matters by buying off Munim with presents and delusive promises of loyalty. Gujar requested that the province of Bihar be given in fief to the king's officers or that Sarkar Hajipur and Bihar be left to him for this year to enable him to account for their produce to the state. Munim accepted this request and was about to give him Gorakhpur. Meanwhile Ludi Khan spoiled the arrangement. When Gujar became hopeless of Munim Khan, he arranged with Ludi. Munim retired after receiving suitable presents.² With the reparation of breach among the Afghans, Daud arranged for war against the Mughals.³

Arrangements for an open conflict with the Mughal were made. The Afghans marched under the leadership of Ludi Khan⁴ and captured Zamaniya from the Mughal Qilādār. Munim, finding them superior, sued for peace but his terms were rejected. Akbar, at that time, was busy with Gujerat and Munim was in a fix and did not know what to do. At this critical turn, Ludi caused the reversal of the Afghans by a sudden volte-face, and by suspension of hostilities with the Mughals.⁵ When Daud went from Bengal

Ludi's end to Monghyr, he put to death Yusuf, son of Tāj and his own cousin and son-in-law of Ludi, from apprehension that Ludi would set him up.⁶ On hearing this, Ludi left Daud. When Daud heard that he was coming against him, he took shelter in Garhi.⁷ Daud wanted to do away with Ludi, now a menace to his kingdom and the whole thing was done beneath the show of great affection.

1. *AN*—III. p. 29.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.* 28-31.

4. *VQ*—*op. cit.* 193; Cf. *AN*—III. 28-31.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *AN*—III. 28-31.

7. *Ibid.* 31.

Ludi was also persuaded by Gujar Karrānni to join the Afghan cause. This had its effect on Ludi who dismissed Tongri Kuli, sent for his support by the Mughals and rejoined the Afghans¹ but he was later on murdered.² Ludi was a man of far reaching strategems and had a vigorous mind for plans. He was the rational spirit of the eastern provinces and helpful in promoting the cause of the Afghans.³ His son, Ismail Karrānni joined Munim Khan, who, by that time had reached the banks of Tirmohani,⁴ near Chapra, after crossing the Sone, drove the Afghans to Patna (January–February 1574). In that very year Tāndā was captured and Munim Khan made it his headquarter.⁵ Hajipur had been captured by the Afghans.⁶

In the seventeenth year of his reign, Akbar, being dissatisfied with Munim Khan's conduct of war against Daud, deputed Raja Todarmal to assist him at Patna. Akbar arrived at Patna on September, 3, 1574. Fathulakhan Barha, the general of the Afghans, baffled all the efforts of Khan-i-Alam and, therefore, the Emperor sent Kasim Ali Khan, Kishun Singh Panwar, Kumar Ramapat Ujjainia to assist Khan-i-Alam. Though many of the boats were destroyed at the junction of the Ganges and the Gaṇḍak (Hajipur certainly), these men managed to cross over to Hajipur and joined Khan-i-Alam at

1. According to *TA*, Ludi was later on arrested and killed; but *BA* (S) says that Ludi planned to kill Daud (p. 41). The *Makhzan*, as quoted by Prof. N. B. Roy (*op. cit.*), says—"Ludi, who was the premier grandee of Sulaimān, rebelled against Daud and was murdered by him."
2. *AN*—III. 97.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.* 98, fn. 3; Cf. *Sāran Gazetteer*—p. 21. During his campaign against Daud, Kabul Muhammad of Barharia is said to have been one of Daud's partisan. He was slain and his citadel was taken by Yuvarāj Shahi (ancestor of Hathwa Raj). Kabul Muhammad is believed to have been a later figure and has been wrongly associated with Daud in the gazetteer.
5. *CHI*—IV. 112.
6. *Ibid.*

a critical juncture.¹ It is evident that Daud had turned Patna into a bastion of resistance against the Mughals. From Patna, he maintained communications with his frontiers on all sides. He got regular supply from Hajipur and kept the enemy to the west of the city.² Akbar, on arrival at Patna, ascended the Panchapahari and reconnoitred the fort. He planned an attack on Hajipur and that was executed by Khan-i-Alam, assisted by Gajpati Shah of Jagdishpur and Hajipur was taken.³ At that time Daud was at Hajipur.⁴ Akbar's pronounced aim was to destroy the fort of Hajipur.⁵ The imperial strategy was to free Hajipur from the possession of the enemy as most of the provisions of the fort came from there.⁶ Hajipur fell into the hands of the Mughals.⁷ Akbar now pursued the Afghans. Hussain Sur, son of Sultān Adili, joined the Karrānnis. Munim was appointed to renew the pursuit and proceed towards Bengal through Surajgarh, Monghyr, Colgong and Garhi. He captured the Afghan capital, Tāndā, and made himself the master of Bengal. Afghan chiefs like Kasim Khan and Mahmud Khan did not accept his authority and invaded Bihar, but they were quelled by Munim. The Afghans were forced to vacate Teliāgarhi Pass and Tāndā.⁸ Tāndā was made the Mughal Headquarter.⁹

1. *PIHC*—XVI. 253 (Waltair).

2. *VQ—op. cit.* 195.

3. *ED*—V. 372; 374; 377. Gajpati of this campaign is said to be a king of Jagdishpur. There was a king, named Gajpati (of Hajipur-Champaran), of that part who was directed to support Khan-i-Alam who crossed the river and went to lay siege to Hajipur. He went upto Gandak. Cf. *AN*—III. 75.

4. *ED*—V. 374; 377.

5. *AN*—III. 73.

6. *Ibid.* 115.

7. *Ibid.* 137; for details p. 140 ff.

8. *PIHC*—XVI. 253.

9. *CHI*—IV. 112-ff. Daud's cousin Junaid Karrānni had defeated the Mughals in Chotanagpur. He marched into Bihar which had been invaded by another Afgan, Tajkhan (*Ibid.*).

Presuming that the enemy was crushed, the Mughal officers became complacent and consequently slack at the first flush of their victory, as is the case with all the victorious imperialist armies everywhere. Daud, on the other hand, was always alert and seriously in search of opportunities to take a revenge. Several Pathan families had settled down in Tirhut and when Daud raised the banner of revolt against the Mughal imperial authority, these Pāthāns swelled his forces. Mulla Taqia also confirms that the Pathans had revolted during the time of Akbar.¹ The stir among the Afghans helped him in mobilising his forces with the result that he got together a large army. In no time, demoralisation in the Afghan army set in and his plans for fortifying the road were made in vain. The Mughals ultimately came out victorious, though Daud again stood on his feet in a considerably short period. Both Badauni and Abul Fazl differ in matters of details regarding Daud's career at this stage.

While Munim was busy with his activities in Orissa,² the Afghan chiefs of Bengal and Bihar rose again. Bahadur Karrānni of Rhotas, Haji and Ghazi of South Bihar, Junaid supported by Adam and Yusuf Batni, Dariyakhan Kākar, Jalalkhan Sur, Tāj Khan and Sulaiman Panwar of North Bihar backed by Fatah Khan Mosazai and other Afghan chiefs threw the whole of Bihar into commotion. The rebels were defeated at a point opposite Tāndā. Daud, who had fled to Orissa, returned from Cuttack. North Bihar was the storm-centre of these rebels on account of its past heritage. North Bihar had never been totally tied to the apron-string of Delhi. Though attached in a loose way, either with Bengal or Delhi, the people, inspite of tremendous difficulties, had

1. Various other factions had combined to put a fight against Akbar in Bihar. Akbar's religious policy had offended the orthodox Muslims and they had begun to think of dethroning him. The bad financial arrangements in some parts of Bihar and Bengal also accounted for such risings during his reign. Cf. *BPP-LXXII*, p. 23 ff; *CB*—'Akbar's reign.'

2. *VQ*—XIV. 279.

succeeded in maintaining the autonomous status. Geographically important, North Bihar attracted the adventurers and rebels for reasons more than one. Hajipur, the important base, was the capital of North Bihar. Had there been no popular support to these frequent revolts in this region, it could not have been possible for them to seek shelter here, which was certainly never a no-man's land.

Though the Mughal army had become victorious against the Afghans, demoralisation had set in. Under Shāham Khan (after Munim's death), the Mughal army had become a sort of loose element. Abul Fazal says ¹—"The whole soul of those paltry-minded men was engaged in carrying the acquisitions out of that country.....when they crossed the river, Qutlaq Qadam produced a lying letter (about the death of Akbar). Those friends of pelf and foes of fame used this false statement as their credentials and went off towards Bihar by way of Purainiya and Tirhut. They gave up such fine country without any regard for it." Akbar sent Hussain Quli Khan alias Khan Jahan from Badakhshan to Bengal. He intercepted the retreating Afghan army near Bhagalpur and enthused morale in the Mughal army. Garhi was captured. Even then the Mughal army was not in a position to face and appeals were sent for help. ² Puranmal, the Rajputa Raja of Giddhour, helped the imperialists. ³ The Bihar army under Khan-Jahan consisted of Raja Todarmal, Jabbari, Babakhan, Qāqshāla, Itimād Khan, Raja Gopal ⁴ and others.

Conditions were favourable for another Afghan rising in Bihar. At Rajasthan, the Rajputas were fighting against the Mughals. Raja Gajapati Shah of Jagdishpur (?) now rose in rebellion. The Mughal prestige had sunk too low in eastern India. Gajapati made an alliance with Daud and closed the lines of communication with Delhi across Chaunsa ferry.

1. *Ibid.* 280; Cf. *AN*—III. 228–29 for details.

2. *AN*—III. 230.

3. *BPP*—(1945) p. 17.

4. *AN*—III. 252. Was Raja Gopāl the Khandawāl king of Mithila? He has been occasionally mentioned in the *Akbarnāmā*.

The Faujdar of Arrah was routed. Akbar sent another force in 1576 under Shahbāz Khan and himself proceeded to Bihar on the 22nd. of July. Even under such favourable conditions, the Afghans could not succeed in holding their own. Medieval Indian history is replete with examples of treachery and counter treachery and Afghan history was no exception to this rule.

After the arrival of Akbar in Bihar, the battle of *Udhuanālā* was fought. The treachery of Qutlu Lohani was responsible for the Afghan debacle. The arch-enemy of Mughal imperialism in eastern India was gone for good (i.e. he was killed in the battle). The Emperor's relief was great because he was now relieved of his permanent headache after the disappearance, from the scene, of his great foe. Daud's activity had twice called the emperor away from the capital. During the Patna campaign, the dismay of Daud was so great among the troops attending him, that he had to take omen by consulting the court soothsayer, Saiyyad Miraki of Isphan.¹ Thus ended the history of the Karrānnis of Bihar, who, for sometime, had played a glorious role in eastern India. The dominion, though short lived, was a result of the indefatigable energy of Sulaimān and Daud and the master Afghan strategist Ludi Khan. After the reversal of the Afghans, Hajipur became the centre of Mughal authority in North Bihar and arrangements for the consolidation of this territory began.

Daud's effort aimed at the creation of an independent Afghan monarchy in eastern India. No doubt it was short-lived but certainly not without results. He showed immense gift of leadership and won the allegiance of Afghan clans and wielded them into a strong fighting force.² His claim to greatness and posterity lay in his unquestionable leadership

1. VQ—XIV. 284. Cf. AN—III. 331—

“Akbar by auspicious fortune shall quickly
Take the country out of the hand of Daud.”

2. AA—III. 96-10; 115; 135-45; 150-53; LAB—II. 181-84;
DMA—124; *Tabakat* (N. K. Text) 414-20; *Ferishta* (N. K. Text) II. 303-4.

of the Afghan race and his sincere attempt to raise an independent Karrānni state on the soils of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Victory did not smile on him because of the defection of his own comrades and his reckless character.

Estimate of Daud The treachery of some of his trusted lieutenants placed him in a very awkward position.

Had he been victorious, the course of history of eastern India would have taken a different shape altogether. Undoubtedly he was one of the greatest personalities of his age.

CHAPTER V

TIRHUT UNDER THE GREAT MUGHALS

(1556-1707 A. D.)

Tirhut, after the fall of the Karrānnis, was subjected to the authority of Delhi and its so-called independence or autonomous status was now a thing of the past. According to the local sources, the *The Khandawalās of Tirhut* Oinwāras in Mithilā were supplanted by the Khandawalā dynasty in 1556. The founder of the house of the Khandwala dynasty was Mahāmahopādhyāya Mahesh Thakura, who secured the kingdom of Mithilā, through the efforts of this pupil, Raghunandana, from Emperor Akbar.¹ Innumerable stories and mythical tales are current about the gift of Tirhut to Raghunandana by Emperor Akbar. Jha says that there was a copperplate also.² He further refers to the absorption of some parts of Mithilā by the Bhumihaar Brāhmaṇas who claimed themselves as Zemindars of these parts.

No actual evidence about all these events is available and hence in the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to

1. *MTV*—(Uttarārdha); *BMI*—deals primarily with the history of the Khandwalā dynasty; *ST*—Appendix—“*Darbhangā Raj*” p. 211 ff. *AT*; *MD*—72; Kedar Nath Sharma—*Mithilāvarṇan*—Auchfrecht. I. 99; Ratnamani—“*Mithileshacharita*”—Mitra, Notices. No. 2023; *Khandwal Kulavivode* (Darbhanga 1329); *RV*; *DG*; Ghose—“*Indian Chief, Rajas and Zemindars*, Part II; Kerr, *Darbhangā Settlement Report* (1896-1903); Stevenson Moore—*Muzaffarpur Settlement Report* (1892-99). Bryne—*Purnea Settlement Report*; *HASB* (Tirhut and Champaran) p. 208-14. A separate account is needed for the study of the history of Darbhanga Raj and that will be possible only when the Raj archives are thrown open to the public. Various *Prasastis* have been published by the Raj family. Also cf. The Mahārājādhirāja volume of the Journal of the Bihar Research Society and my article on the *Khandavalas of Mithilā* therein.
2. *MTV*—(Uttarārdha) p. 8.

say anything definite about its history. Even the Narhan and Bettiah Estates have been more frequently mentioned than the Darbhanga Raj. The absence of any actual reference to it, by name, is indicative of the fact that it had no importance and that the Rāj acknowledged sway of the Mughal Faujdar of Sarkar Tirhut, placed at Darbhanga. *Ā'in-i' Akbari*¹ tells us that Sarkar Tirhut was divided into Seventy Four Mahals, Sarkar Champaran had three Mahals, Sarkar Hajipur had eleven Mahals, Sarkar Saran seventeen Mahals, Sarkar Monghyr 31 Mahals and Sarkar Purniya, which was then in Bengal, had nine Mahals. All these Mahals taken together constitute a very big area and if the Darbhanga Raj would have exercised any authority over them, then the event must have been noticed in any one of the contemporary source books.

The *Ā'in-i-Akbari* has given in details the income of these Mahals under different Sarkars. Amongst the important personalities and Grandees or Scholars, Mahāmahopādhyāya Mahesh Thakura or Raghunandana does not find any place. Minor grants of estates in the Tirhut area (e.g. Champaran) are mentioned in the *Ā'in*, but the so-called grant of a big kingdom is conspicuous by its omission. This raises grave doubts as to whether there was actually any grant of the kingdom of Tirhut to Mahesh Thakura or Raghunandana? There are evidences to show that they had no control over entire Tirhut, because we know that even before the coming of Akbar, Tappas Sarounja and Parry belonged to a Hindu Raja, Chunchun, after whose death, Lakshmi Singh, a Rajput, came to that part of the country in 954 A. H. (= 1547-48) and obtained a Sanad from the emperor.² The *Ā'in* simply says that Tirhut was an important seat of Hindu learning (p. 165). The incomes of the various Mahals show that Bhaura, Darbhanga and even Tirhut with surrounding suburbs had inferior position in this respect. The Faujdār, with his subordinates' help, used to collect taxes from these Mahāls.³

1. *AA*—p. 167; 147.

2. *BPP*—XLII-117 (No. 86 of 1932).

3. *AA*—p. 42.

Mulla Taqia, the contemporary historian, who should have given a complete account of the Darbhanga Raj, simply makes a passing reference, on traditional lines, to Mahesh Thakura. Occasional references to the Darbhanga rulers' visit to Mughal Faujdārs at Darbhanga clearly show that they had a subservient status. Vincent Smith informs us that in the Mackenzie collection of the India office Library, there is a "Sanskrit history of a part of Akbar's reign, written in prose and verse, by Mahesa Thakur.a" ¹ Though no scientific history of Tirhut is available, it is not desirable to reject all traditions outright, so strictly adhered to by all writers. Mahesh Thakur's reference to Akbar and Man Singh in his composition is indicative of the fact that he was known to them. ² There is nothing to doubt that the Zemindari was granted by Akbar to the founder of the Darbhanga Raj. It is said that the ancestors of the Darbhanga Raj got a territory, boundary of which was "*Az-Gang tā Sang-Az Kosa tā Ghosa*" i.e., from the Ganges to the mountains and from the Kosi to the Gaṇḍak. This line is also found in the Purnea settlement Report in connection with the account of the Darbhanga Raj. This expression, actually, came into use after the conquest of Tirhut by Shamsuddin Haji Ilyās (*supra*) and when the founder of the Khandawālā dynasty got the Zemindāri of Mithilā, the appellation was attributed to him. It is very natural because tradition dies hard with the people. Mithilā was now not the same as it was about two hundred and fifty years ago.

Since the days of Haji Ilyās, Champāran and Tirhut came to be separately mentioned and it continued to be so during defied the rule of the great Mughals. Purnea was made a separate Sarkār under Bengal. Hence it appears that the old

1. V. A. Smith—'Akbar, the great Maghul'—p. 486 (Oxford-1926). Cf. Eggelling-Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscript—VII. No. 4106—Photostat copy of this is in the Raj Library, Darbhanga.

2. MTV—p. 7 (Uttarārdha)—

(a) उपवीणयन्ति वरमप्सरसो नृप मानसिह तव दानयशः

X X X X

(b) अद्याशुक्रान्तरात्मभिजविमलयशः पूरकपूरगौरैर्गौजी

जलालुद्दीन त्वमिह दशदिशो वीर गौरीकरोषि ।

territory of Tirhut vanished before the mighty Mughal imperialism. Tirhut, now, did not include the areas mentioned above. Whether Darbhanga Raj had complete sway over Sarkar Tirhut or not, we cannot say definitely. Besides Darbhanga, we have separate estates of Narhan, Bettia, Sheohar and Banailly, besides a number of petty estates spread over North Bihar. All these go to show that the entire area of Tirhut was not under the direct jurisdiction of the Khandāwalās, whose Zemindāri was a recognised fact. In offering this Zemindāri to the founder of this dynasty, Akbar must have been motivated by some purpose. The Pathan or the Afghan rising was disturbing the Mughal empire and hence it was necessary to have a man of the soil for the collection of taxes and the maintenance of law thereof. It has been asserted that "Mahesh Thakura settled down in Tirhut and got possession of the country after some fight with the former ruler."¹ As we are not directly concerned here with the history of the Khandāwalās, we should now proceed with the narrative of Akbar's reign.

The train of Mughal imperialism, set on the track by Babar (1526-1530) though derailed for few years (1530-56) on account of stiff Afghan opposition, was again set into motion by the master-engineer of imperialism in medieval times, Akbar, the great. If the first battle of Panipat had simply sown the seeds, the second battle saw the sprouts

1. ST—214—He has based his account on tradition. On p. 216 F. N. 1, he points to the existence of an inscription on a piece of stone (in a well) confirming Mahesh Thakur's accession. (It is near Janakpur).

Cf. Vacaspati Misra's *Khandanoddāra* (Benares Edn. 1909) —

आसीत् पण्डितमण्डलाग्रगणिता भूमण्डला खण्डलः ।

जातः खण्डवलाकुले गिरिसुतामुक्तो महेशः कृती ॥

शाके रन्ध्रतुरङ्गमश्रुतिमद्गो । १४४८ संलक्षिते हावने

बाणदेवी कृपया शुभेन मिथिला देसः समस्तोजितः ॥

Cf. TM—II (unpublished) section on political history. Further references to this dynasty will come in course of our narrative.

Drs. J. S. Jha and Q. Ahmad have published some documents of the Darbhanga Raj archives.

coming out with hopes of good fruit in future. The accession of Akbar saw the unification of India under the aegis of Delhi. Eastern India did not prove to be a bed of roses for Akbar. The great emperor condescended to come twice in this part to make his rule felt. Bihar was made a separate province and its territory extended from Chausa to Garhi.¹ The whole of Tirhut was included in the *Suba* of Bihar. The name *Subā* originated in the time of Akbar.² The main divisions were as follows³ (in Bihar, north of the Ganges)

Serial No.	Sarkār	Mahāl	Revenue
1.	Champāran	3	1,37,835
2.	Hājipur	11	6,83,276
3.	Tirhut	74	4,79,494
4.	Purnea ⁴	9	1,60,219

We have discussed above Akbar's campaign against Daud Karrānni in *Subā* Bihar, which could not be so easily subjugated. In his campaign against the Karrānni of Bihar, Akbar's army had advanced upto Suryagarha and had secured the help of Rājā Sangrām Singh of Kharagpur, Puranmal of Giddhour, and many other Zemindārs. The army conquered Bhagalpur and Kahalgāon, a rendezvous of the Afghāns⁵ and then proceeded towards Tāndā. Even after the submission of Dāud at Cuttack, the actual imposition of imperial status was a far off dream. The imperial officers held a few towns in Bengal, Bihar and other places. Outside this area lay the vast no-man's land, a place for fortune seekers and roving Afghan bands along with those who aspired

1. AA—(Cal. 1927) I, 344-5; ED-VII. 138; JASB-1873-254.

2. Riyāz—7, fn. *Subā* was an aggregate of Sarkārs, Sarkār of Dasturs, Dastur of Parganas or Mahals, Pargana or Mahal meant a fiscal division.

3. AA (Cal. 1949)-II. 167—Sarkar Monghyr was a part of North Bihar on the other side of the Ganges with 31 Mahals on both sides. Sarkar Sāran had 17 Mahals.

4. It was then in Bengal extending upto the Mahānanda.

5. AN—III. 150-53.

for independence even now. There were separate *Sipahsālār*, (*Subādārs*) for Bihar and Bengal. The history between 1575 and 1594 A. D. is a tale of offensive and counter-offensive with no final results. The death of Munim Khan saw the complete *detachment* of Mughal army and their consequent retreat to Bhagalpur enroute Delhi.¹

During the time of Muzaffar Khan Turbati, there was a great commotion at Hajipur. Tāj Khan Panwār, Fatah Khan Musazai, Shahbāz Khan Arabi and Panwār Khan and Thān Rai put to death² Mir Muhammad Shaukat, who was in Hajipur on behalf of Muzaffar Khan and killed about a hundred more. Muzaffar went off to Hajipur. The river Gaṇḍak was running boisterously and the Afghans were exultant on account of their numbers. Udikaran, Zemindar of Jiataran (Champāran) became the guide of the imperial march.³ After a long battle, Hajipur was saved. It was after this event that the news reached that Satri and Catri and

many presumptuous Afghans were assembled
Battle of Teghra on the other side of the Mahda Gaṇḍaka
 (Burhi Gaṇḍak).⁴

The Afghans had a strong belt in North Bihar. Even after being defeated by the imperial forces at Hajipur and Monghyr, the Afghans did not lose courage. The Afghans took refuge with Tāj Khan⁵ Panwar. Muzaffar exercised caution and recrossed Mahda (Mādha) Gaṇḍaka. He established himself in a place surrounded on three sides by river and on the fourth by a large tank.⁶ When the Afghan disturbance was quelled, Satri and Catri joined with some of the Afghāns and took possession of the country of Teghra. Teghra (in Begusarai subdivision) was a cultivated district of thirty *Kos* long and twenty *Kos* broad, lying opposite to Monghyr from which it

1. *AA*—III, 226–29; 188; 190–200; *LAB*—II, 220.

2. *AN*—III, 192.

3. *Ibid*—193.

4. *Ibid*—194–5 Cf. Beames *Map*—*ASB*—1885 p. 182.

5. *Ibid*—Cf. *ED*—VI, 50.

6. *Ibid*—197–98.

is separated by the Ganges.¹ Teghra was a Mahal of Sarkār Hajipur. Muzaffar Khan, on hearing of this great Afghan commotion, set out to quell them. He took with him Wazir Zamil, Khudādād Barlās, Khwaja Shamsuddin, M. Jalāluddin, Buniyād Beg Khan, Tengar Qulikhan and went off to extirpate the gang. A great fight took place and Fatah Khan fell together with 79 leading men and the territory came into possession.² Muzaffar was made the Governor of Bihar, from Chausa to Garhi.³

Muzaffar distinguished himself in the campaign on several occasions and was, therefore, promoted to the rank of a Governor in the 20th year of Akbar's reign.⁴ He was granted the Jagir of Hajipur. He erected a bridge by which he passed over the Poon-
Muzaffar Khan
Turbati
poon river. Rājā Udikaran, the ancestor of the present Bettia Raj, was his right hand man in his campaign against the rebels.⁵ Muzaffar also proceeded to crush the remnants of Afghan chiefs of Chotanāgpur.⁶ On his return journey, he proceeded to Suryagarha, where he crossed the

1. *Ibid*—199. fn. The text has Magra but there is the variant Tegra and this occurs also in I. O. MSS. 235. In the AA— it is a Mahal under Sarkār Hajipur. Teghra had an yield of 3, 518, 354 (AA-II. 167). There is a variant Tekhra or Tegra and Mr. Beames has identified Patkhera as "the old pargana of Teghra lying along the north bank of 'the Ganges' and which, he states, is now known as Mulki, though the town of Teghra still retains its old name. Teghra was originally the headquarter of Begusarai subdivision till 1870 A. D.—(Vide— Beame's article—*ASB*—1885 p. 182).
2. *Ibid*—199.
3. *Ibid*—200.
4. *Ibid*—200 AA—(1927) I. 374.
5. *ED*—VI. 48.
6. *BPP*—XLV—p. 7 ff. (No. 128—1945). For a contemporary account—Cf. "*Dutch chronicle of Mughal India*"—in *JBR*S—XXVIII (1942) XXXII—pp. 197—206.

Ganges (1577) and returned to Hajipur.¹ In June 1577, he left Hajipur and went to Sāran. He restored peace and order in different parts of this province and settled the affairs of Sarkār Bihar, Hajipur and Tirhut and distributed lands there as jāgir. In obedience to the imperial order, he, then, proceeded to Agra. He was temporarily succeeded by Moquim Arab,² entitled Shujaat Khān. The bravery of Muzaffar Khan has been ably presented by the contemporary chroniclers. When the Afghans were using matchlocks and shower of arrows was disturbing the Mughal army, the situation got panicky. Muzaffar's strategy stood him in good stead and the Afghans took to flight. Even the victory at the battle of Teghra was due to the ability and foresight of this great general. He exerted a good deal and his efforts ultimately brought unruly areas of North Bihar under control.³

The religious policy of Akbar was one of the various causes of rebellion in Bihar. The fire of rebellion first broke into flame in Bihar. Simultaneously a rebellion broke out in Bengal. Muzaffar Khan attempted to conciliate them by promising that unpopular reforms would not be enforced. They slew his emissaries and besieged him in Tāndā and when the rebels in Bihar defeated a force which had been sent to defend Teliagarhi, they attacked Tāndā. The rebel forces of both the provinces concentrated near Teliagarhi and caused Khutba to be read in the name of Muhammad Hakim but retired when Todarmal advanced against them. He was also besieged by the rebels in Monghyr. Khan-i-Āzam compelled

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1. The route, certainly, must have been through Begusarai, as on the opposite of Suryagarha on the north bank of the Ganges lay Sambo area, once the citadel of the Chakwāras.
 2. *BPP—op. cit.* p. 9—Khān-i-Jahān Muzaffar Khan, both governors of Bengal, were asked to look after the affairs of Bihar. Todarmal was deputed to take command in Bihar and in the 19th year, he was ordered to accompany Munim Khan to Bengal (AA-I. 344-45). He was sent to quell the Bihar rebels, he occupied Garhi, a pargana of Purnea.
 3. *AN* (8)—p. 52 ff.

the rebels to raise the siege. Māsun Khān Farkhandi forced them to retire to Gaya.¹

Bihar, during the period (1576-80), was virtually in the hand of a number of military commanders and fief-holders. Māsum Khan Kabuli held Patna and its neighbourhood, Mohib Khan Rohtāsi held the charge of *Condition of Bihar* Rohtās (1577-80), Mir Muizzulmulk, his *before Azam Khan* brother Mir Ali Akbar, and Sāmanji Khan Qurbegi were jāgirdars in Arrah district, Said Khan Badakshi and Arab were jāgirdars in Sasram, Shāham Khan had his jāgir in Hajipur and neighbourhood, Darwesh Ali, Sufaid Badakshi and his son Bahādur Shah sat in Tirhut and its neighbourhood. Māsum Khan Kabuli and a set of ill-fated ones had raised a rebellion in Bihar. They went under the guidance of the Zemindar of Giddhour. Arab Bahādur and Nuram, the son of Tarkhān, and some others took to brigandage. Choudhary Kishen² was conveying treasure for the assistance of the prosperous, *i.e.*, the imperialists. Arab, Nuram and others hurried to plunder it, but Kishen skillfully hastened on and arrived at the fort of Patna.³

At a time when the rebels had taken the outworks, of the fort,⁴ they made some resistance and were defeated.⁵ The victorious army was hotly engaged with that evil doer, Bhahādur, who had come out of Tirhut and siezed many places. He was sitting at the table of bounty in Tirhut and its neighbourhood.⁶ From that time Sarkar Hajipur was in his possession.⁷ The victorious army proceeded from Sarāi Rāni

1. CHI—IV. 126.

2. AN—III. 470 fn. 2—Chaudhari was a name apparently for those incharge of the mints. The I. O. MSS has *Kishia*. This agrees with the *Iqbāl-nāma*, having "*Kisht* Mangāl, one of the trusty treasurers of the king. He was conveying the money from the court.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid*—470.

5. *Ibid*—471.

6. *Ibid*—418-19.

7. *Ibid*—471.

to Bihar. The rebels came out of Bihar and proceeded towards the fort of the northern hill country.¹ After putting down Azab Bahadur, the victorious army departed from Serai Rani to Bihar to settle the affairs of Māsum Kābuli and to clear the land of rebellion.² Thus the rebellion, raised in Bihar in 1579, by Māsum Khān Kābuli was pardoned by Akbar through the intervention of Khān-i-Āzam. He gave him Pargana Mehisi in Sarkār Champāran as *tuyul*.³ Farān khudi was given a jāgir in the territory of Mehisi.⁴

The decentralising force, already at work, compelled the emperor to send Mulla Taiyab, Rāi Purkhottam and Shamshir Khan⁵ to be respectively the Diwān and Bakshi and incharge of the Khālśa revenue of the province of Bihar.⁶ The rebels again occupied the town of Tānda in the twenty-sixth year of his reign. They took Hakim Abul Fatah, Khwaja Shamsuddin and others, as prisoners and began to pillage. Abul Fatah

1. *Ibid*—472—fn. 2—This is shown by AA (Jarret II-149) where the breadth of the province of Bihar from the north to the south is stated as extending from Tirhut to the northern hill country.
2. *Ibid*—Was Ranisaraī Ranigodhna in Begusaraī subdivision. Ranisaraī of Tiefenthaler (1. 420) was six Kos from the town of Bihar and also six Kos from the south bank of the Ganges. The course of Ganges has changed a good deal—Cf. *G. D. College Bulletin* No. 3.
3. AA—(1927) I. 492 Cf. AN—III. 553; AA—II. 155; Beames—*JASB*—1885—p. 173.
4. *BPP*—*op. cit.* p. 21. Cf. *AT*—147. It is said that Nawab Taj-ul-Shera, a Quazi or Amil during the time of Akbar came for travelling purposes in Tirhut. Brahman Zemindars of Piragpur, Pargana Kasmar, refused to pay the imperial revenue. That Nawab fought for the king against the Brahman Zemindar and was killed and his dead body lies buried near 'Ganji-i-Shahidān.' Then Mahādev Singh Sawai of Jaipur came and subdued the Zemindār.
5. *ED*—V. 409—adds one more name Mulla Majdi.
6. AN—III. 418.

and others managed to escape and with the help of the Zemindars they reached Hajipur. The rebels were victorious.¹ The imperial officers passed on from Garhi and advanced to meet the imperial forces at Monghyr. The fort of Patna was ably defended by Bahādur Khan Kārdār. Māsum Khan Farankhudi captured Hajipur. Soon Raja Todarmal succeeded in annexing the whole of south Bihar. Āzam Khan came as the governor of Bihar.²

According to Nizāmuddin, Khān-i-Āzam Mirzā Kokaltāsh was appointed as the Governor of Bihar on June 1580. Already on 2nd. March, 1580, Raja Todarmal
Āzam Khān had been sent to Bihar to suppress the rebels.

During the absence of Khān-i-Āzam, the Bengal rebels had occupied Hajipur. He immediately returned from Bengal and after handing the command to Shahbāz Khan, he assumed the governorship of this province. The officials of Bihar and fief holders of Oudh and Allahabad were asked to join Raja Todarmal.³ The Raja besieged the fort of Gandak. Sadiq Khan defeated the rebels on the Gaṇḍak.⁴ Āzam Khān joined the Raja on September 30, 1580 and from this time till his departure in 1581, the Raja was only second in command and had no opportunity on this occasion to proceed to Bengal.⁵

Āzam Khan spent the whole of his time in stabilising his position. He had his jagirs in Bihar. He was put in charge of Bengal as well. He busied himself in suppressing the

1. *ED*—V, 416.

2. *BPP*—*op. cit.* 18. Nizāmuddin refers to him as governor of Hajipur and Patna—Abul Fazal as of eastern provinces, Badāuni calls Bengal instead of Bihar.

3. *AA* (1927) I, 376-77.

4. *Ibid*—383. "On hearing the news of the Bihar rebels, Akbar sent Todarmal, Sādiq Khan and Tārson Khan to Bihar. Against the rebels, Todarmal shut himself in the fort of Monghyr and succeeded in reannexing south Bihar as far as Garhi"—(*Ibid*—p. 377). He introduced Persian as the court language.

5. *BPP*—*op. cit.*—10.

rebels. Shahbāz Khan, who had arrived in Bihar, was asked to join him in suppressing the powerful Ujjainia chiefs. Their stronghold, Jagdishpur, was plundered and taken. The difference of opinion between the two Mughal generals caused a set back.¹ The rebels had left Bihar and fled to Bengal and so the imperialists decided to restore peace and consolidate their position in Bihar. Monghyr was cleared off the rebels. After the departure of Māsum Khan towards Jaunpur, Hajipur was captured by the servants of Bahādur. It was reconquered by Shahbāz Khan. He was induced by the Raja to surrender Hajipur to Āzam Khan, a fief of the latter. The differences between Shahbāz and Āzam could not be made up.

At the time, when Akbar went to Kabul, Bahādur Shah had established himself in Tirhut and was ready to resist the imperialists. Bahadur and others in Tirhut were made rebellious by the harshness of the officers of the province. They led away Shāham Khan, Jagirdar of Hajipur, Mir Muizz-ul-mulk, Mir Ali Akbar and others and thereby made a disturbance.² Bahādur, son of Saīd Badakshi, separately and earnestly prosecuted a course of ingratitude. Bahādur was the collector or '*Āmilguzār*' of Tirhut. When Bihar officers raised the head of ingratitude, he left his son there and joined the rebels. Bahādur used the exchequer property in helping the rebels. He raised a disturbance and assumed a great name to himself.³ The *Iqbāl-nāmā* states that he assumed independence and had the Khutba read and coins struck in his own name. He gave himself the title of Bahādur Shah.⁴ He set himself up as a king of Tirhut.⁵ Shāham khan, who had at

1. BPP—*op. cit.* p. 19.

2. AN—III. 419.

3. *Ibid*—451.

4. *Ibid*—451, fn. Cf. LAB—II. 307. It is said that the following rhyme was composed for his signet—

"Bahādur-ud-din Sultan son of Asīd Shah Sultān. His father was Sultān and himself bravo Sultān bin Sultān."—

For Mulla Taqia's Views Cf. *Maāsir* (1946).

5. *Ibid*—471.

first joined the rebels, hoisted the standard of loyalty at Hajipur and sent a force against Bahādur. Bahādur defeated that force.¹ In the long run Shaham Khan came out victorious.

On his way to Jaunpur, Māsum Khan took Hajipur from the servants of Bahādur. The author of the *Iqbāl-nāmā* mentions that near the same place, *Asi* was given to Māsum Khan Kabuli by Akbar. Todarmal caused the dispersion of the rebels by inducing the Zemindars to reduce their supplies.² Hajipur was freed. Khan-i-Azam and Todarmal took up quarters at Hajipur.³ They, with some other officers went off to Tirhut⁴ to get away from Shahbāz Khan who hastened to Jaunpur.⁵ Ghāzi Khan, to whom Tirhut had been assigned, was sent in advance and as he was backed by Khān-i-Āzam, he defeated and captured his home and family. Bahadur surrendered and was sent to Hajipur and thence to the court where he was executed. There was another Bahādur of the Bengal rebels. Sādiq sent some experienced men from Bhagapur who succeeded in killing Bahādur. Bihar was thus swept clear off the rebels. Khān-i-Āzam continued to govern Bihar, but he left to congratulate the emperor on his Kabul victory on 14th. February 1582.

The Governorship of Bihar fell vacant and the rebels took advantage of the situation. News reached the Emperor that the rebels had taken possession of Hajipur, Khān-i-Āzam was again sent with Tārson Khan and others on the 6th. April 1582. Even before his arrival, the imperial servants, acting in harmony, came to Hajipur and constructed a fort on the bank of the river Gaṇḍak.⁶ The rebels were defeated. In 1583, Noor Muhammad, son of Tārson Khan Diwana, notorious among the rebels of eastern provinces, came from Bengal by

1. *Ibid*—451-52.

2. *Ibid*—471-fn. 1. There is a village named Asi in the district of Darbhanga.

3. *Ibid*—476.

4. *Ibid*—477.

5. *Ibid*—485.

6. *AN*—III. 574 ff.

way of Tirhut and having joined with Khwāja Abdul Ghafoor, ravaged Saran.¹ He was, however, overtaken and the rebels, having heard the approach of Khān-i-Āzam, retreated and took refuge at a place twelve kos from Tirhut. The imperial army began to construct a bridge across the Ganges. Abdul Ghafoor and his men were cut off by the Khasi tribes in Santhalia in the Bhagalpur district. Noor Muhammad was caught by the men of Khan-i-Āzam near Champaran² and was executed in the market place of Fatahpur. Khan-i-Azam was ordered to proceed to Bengal and conquer that province for the third time. A large army was assembled at Hajipur. Khan-i-Azam marched through Garhi, the gate of that part of the country.³ The two armies met at Monghyr. Bengal rebels were aided by Qutlu Lohani of Orissa and others. The Khan, after suppressing the rebels,⁴ returned to Hajipur. He was called upon to chastise Arab Bahadur who had stirred up strife in Bihar. Arab Bahadur was defeated between Tirhut and Champaran. Azam retired in December 1583.

Azam was succeeded by Said Khan Chagta.⁵ His governorship did not last long. It is not exactly known whether Shahbāz Khan was the governor of Bihar or not? Raja Ramdas Kachwaha's services to Akbar, during *Said Khan Chagta* the suppression of Afghans, earned him sufficient gratitude. He was sent to eastern provinces in September 1584. The rebels were driven out and

1. *Ibid*—Cf. AA-II, 146; JASB-1904 p. 181 and 225 G. N. Datta's "*History of Hathwa Raj*."

2. *Ibid*—587. Cf. AA-II, 156; JASB-1904 p. 181 and 225 G. N. Datta's "*History of Hathwa Raj*."

3. AN (S)—pp. 69-70; Cf. AN-III, 590-91. Hajipur to Garhi was the centre of all troubles. The rebels had once taken refuge with the Zemindar of Kalyanpur (Hathwa Rāj) but they were refused protection there. Gafoor was to return to Bengal by way of Tirhut or Narhan. (AN-III, 586 Cf. I, O. MSS. No. 236).

4. Abul Fazal testifies to the services of Rana Sangrām Singh of Kharagpur and Raja Dalpat Shahi Ujjainia in favour of Mughal cause in Bengal Cf. BPP—*op. cit.* p. 23-24.

5. AA—I, 351.

the territories were recovered.¹ Mirza Yusuf² came as governor but he had soon to make over charge to Said Khan, who also got orders to proceed to Bengal. Mansingh came as the governor of Bihar³ (1587). During the time of Shahbāz Khan, one Tārson Khān Diwāna had come to Tāndā and increased sedition. Shahbāz Khan sent Kasim and other brave men to punish him. He was soon a wanderer in the desert of destruction and died in the Morang, the sub-Himalayan tracts north of Purainiya Sarkar.⁴ When Mansingh came, Sultan Quli Qalmāq and Kackena, the wicked, stretched out the arms of strife and plundered Tājpur and Purnea. From there they came to Darbhanga, proceeded to Hajipur but could not put up a fight against the Mughals.⁵

Mansingh punished several refractory Zemindars and received tributes from Puranmal and Raja Sangram. According to Abul Fazal, he administered the province of Bihar excellently. He was ordered to quell the disturbances in Rohtās. He selected Rajmahal as his capital, when he went to Bengal.⁶ His son Jagatsingh had the charge of Bihar and he rendered good services, when the Bengal rebels plundered Tajpur, Purnea and then penetrated to fourteen miles of Hajipur. Farrukh Khan, the Faujdār of Darbhanga, found himself powerless to resist the rebels but Jagat took him along with himself and defeated them at a place within seven kos from Hajipur. The Raja, after return from Bengal, with the help of many Rajput land holders of Bihar, invaded Orissa. He was helped by Sayeed Khan, governor of Bengal and his brother Makshus Khan. Makshus Khan has left his name, in a mosque, still extant at Hajipur.⁷

1. *PIHC*—XVI. 254-55.

2. *AA*—I. 370.

3. *AA*—I. 362.

4. *AN*—III. 695.

5. *Ibid*—872.

6. *AA*—I. 363.

7. The inscription was in Arabic persian and Hindi respectively and

Mansingh served as the governor of Bihar from 1587 to 1594 A. D. One of his sanads has been discovered from Hajipur. He granted fourteen bighas of land to Sheikh Baksh, one of the keepers of the masoleum of Syed Ahmad and Syed Muhammad, traditionally well known as Pir Mamun Bhānja. The grant was made in October 1591. The record is bilingual and says—"The lofty command has been issued that the agents and the administrators of the affairs of the Pargana, Hajipur,should know that according to the attestations and verification of the lord chief justice Quazi Yākub, deceased, and the sanads granted by the previous rulers fourteen bighas of arable revenue free land in village Jaruha of the said Pargana has been settled from the end of the year..... and the same settlement has now been continued..... They should not demand the renewal of Parwāna every year." It is significant that the Rājput village near Hajipur is still called Mansinghapur.²

Mansingh was transferred to Bengal and Sayeed Khan became the governor of Bihar.³ Probably he retired in 1602. After his departure Prince Dānyal came to Bihar to suppress Dalpat Ujjainia, who submitted and paid respects. Prince Salim also figures in the history of Bihar after the departure of Sayeed. It has been asserted that this rebellious prince was in control of the whole country from Allahabad to Hajipur.⁴ He appropriated more than thirty lacs of revenue and

the Hindi text is as follows—"San Masjid Makshrus ki Jadi, Nadi par sāj, Surpati Lochana pāye Dharo Manmathha Bān Bichar." (= 1597 A. D.) Cf. *BPP-op. cit.* 26.

1. *BPP*—LXVI-p. 41 (1946-47).
2. *Ibid*—p. 44.
3. *AA*—I. 351.
4. Cf. *Dutch Chronicles-JBRS*—XXXII. p. 209—"He ruled here as an independent king, appointing his Omeras as governors over places and driving away those of his father, allowing himself to be called king, and receiving the incomes of the following places—Jaunpur, Bihar, Kalpi, Lucknow, Oudh, Bahraich, Kara Manickpur, Kara Sultanpur and Kanauj."

gave the Suba to Qutubuddin Kokalatash. Akbar advised Salim to return to his fold but he did not listen to his father. He had brought him all the country upto Hajipur and Patna and so he remained obstinate.¹ In 1604, Shariff Khan, came as the governor of Bihar, but was soon displaced by Asaf Khan the last governor of Akbar.

Stray references here and there enable us to reconstruct the history of Tirhut during Akbar's reign. Major events have been noted above, but there are certain things which do not find specific mention in the general histories of the period. Hence a treatment of such topics is given here. We have seen above that there was a lack of stable arrangements in Bihar, though attempts for the same were made under Akbar. The *Ain-i-Akbari* gives us an idea about the state of affairs, then obtaining in our part. The local Zemindar and chiefs always took advantage of this unstable situation and asserted their rights wherever possible. Pargana Ballia² (now in Begusarai Subdivision) was held by Chand and Alauddin. Chand had four sons out of whom, the second, Abdul Hakim taught a son of one of the kings and got the title of Khan. He was given the Tappas of Pharkiya,³ Simri and Hamidpur by a grant which is dated 981 Fasli (= 1574 A. D.).⁴ Bhagalpur, during the days of Akbar, under Sarkar Monghyr, was an important centre of Muslim rule. Akbar's troop marched through it between 1573 and 1575. Mansingh made Bhagalpur the rendezvous of all Bihar contingents in 1591.⁵ In recognition of the services, Mansingh granted to Rupakaran Mansab Jagir, free of rent and in perpetuity, of five Parganas, viz., Dursuraf in Purnea, Yamuni and Akbarnagar in Rajmahal,

1. *Ibid*—210.

2. Ballia was a Mahal under Sarkar Monghyr in Akbar's time (AA-II, 167).

3. Pharkiya—a Mahal under Sarkar Monghyr.

4. *ADB*—p. 506 510; (For Pharkiya Rajputs and other details—pp. 506-508).

5. *HSAB*—XIV—p. 82.

Majhuya and Kangjiyal. Besides this, Rupakaran procured as a Zemindari Tappa Manihari, a part of Bhagalpur pargana.¹ Manasingh conferred on him the title of Raja who enjoyed the state till 1608 and his family continued to be in possession of these things till the time of the East India company. In 1602, Qazi Momin raised a rebellion in Purnea district as a part of the revived rebellion of the Afghans in Bengal. Qazi Momin had built a fort on the bank of the Kosi and had succeeded in defeating an imperial force.²

In the Kishunganj police station of Madhipura subdivision, there is a village named Sarsendi, where there is a Mosque in ruin. This is said to be a fort of Raja Bairisal (of the Gandhawariya dynasty). There is another mound to the south-east and the legend is that two Fakir cultivators, Shah Sher-ul-mulk and Shah Shad-ul-mulk, came here and settled in the time of Raja Bairisal. They were in the service of the Raja. Once, while they were offering prayers, king's servant came to send for them. They refused and there were some skirmishes between the two. The whole thing was communicated to the Delhi Emperor. Raja Bairisal, to save himself from conversion, gave his sister Dai Thakurani to Shad-ul-mulk in marriage. The place has assumed religious importance.³

I am tempted to identify Bairisal with his namesake of the Ujjainiya Rajputas, who played a prominent part in the history of medieval Bihar. The Gandawariyas also trace their descent from the Parmaras of Malwa. Prof. Askari⁴ has shown that Bairisal was the son of Badal. He was not a Raja but a close associate of his brother,⁵ Gajapati of Shahabad. When the Ujjainiya split into three groups, Badal

1. ADB—483.

2. For Akbar's campaign in Bihar—Cf. AN (S)—pp. 37, 37, 41, 42, 43, 45, 47, 50, 51-60, 70, 83, 105; Cf. CB—189-91.

3. BG—p. 171-2.

4. JBRs—XLI—p. 106-31; For Bairisal, Cf. AN (S) pp. 58-59; ADB—499; AN—III. 265.

5. *Ibid*—p. 113 fn. 18.

occupied Jagdishpur, Sheoram established himself in Bihta, Mahipat began to rule over Mithila.¹ We have no account, authentic or otherwise, about Mahipat's rule in Mithilā. Mahipat conspired against Badal but the former was killed by Sheoram. Badal's wife escaped with her sons, Gajpati and Bairisal and she spent twelve years in caves and hills. Sheoram was killed by Gajapati who became king in 1590 V. S. (= 1533 A. D.). No account of Bairisal is given after that event.² The local tradition at Sarsendi connects the event with the reign of Akbar and we cannot preclude the possibility of Bairisal's influence in this part of Tirhut, if it was ever a part of Mahipat's kingdom.

The necessary foundation for the organisation of Bihar in general and Tirhut in particular was laid in Akbar's time.

Hajipur³ was an important military base, *Administrative* having adjuncts at various places. Mir *organisation* Shaukiti was the deputy of Muzaffar Khan there.⁴ In recognition of the good services

to the cause of Mughal imperialism, several Jagirs were conferred upon the Pathans and other loyal families in Tirhut. The Mughal conquest of Tirhut re-established contact with other parts of India. He made necessary arrangements for the administration of his empire. He divided his empire into *Subas* or provinces. The revenue administration was thoroughly organised. Bihar was divided into seven Sarkars, viz., Rhotas, Bihar, Monghyr, Saran, Champaran, Hajipur and Tirhut.

The centralised administrative system brought to an end the arbitrary personal rule and whims and caprices of the provincial governors. The emperor gave to each of the Subas

1. *Ibid*—127.

2. *AN* (S) pp. 58-59—"Bairisal with his brother sought refuge... but they were discovered and slain by the imperial forces—*Bairisal's Coins were discovered in Sarsendi area; Cf. Bhagalpur Gazetteer.*

3. Hajipur figured in the rebellion of Kakshab Jagirdar of Bihar and Bengal. He was suppressed by Todarmal, *Cf. TA-ED*—V. 417.

4. *ED*—VII—pp. 39, 49—He was killed by the rebels.

similar type of administration. The Sipah-salar or the Viceroy had a staff of departmental heads like, Diwan, Bakshi, Mir Adal, Sadar, Kotwal, Mir Bahr, Waqianavis, Qāzi, Amils, Shiqdārs and Choudharis. Under Sadar Choudhary there were (a) Choudhary and (b) Qanungo and under the Choudhary there were Moqaddams or the village head. The assessment of the area was made under the supervision of Todarmal in 1582. The governmental revenue was fixed at one-third.¹

Mulla Taqiā gives some account of Tirhut administration. Since Tirhut was an important Sarkār under the *Suba* of Bihar, it was put under a Faujdar. The area of Darbhanga was about nine and a half square miles. In Tirhut, there were 700 Sawārs and 80,000 paid soldiers. Urdu Bazar in Darbhanga was one of the important centres during the time of Akbar.² Darbhanga was the headquarter of Sarkar Tirhut. According to the Mulla, Mahesh Thakur was the highest finance officer. Among the important Faujdars were Bahadur Khan, and Mir Dayanat. Bansrai Choudhary and Makhdum Shah Sultan Hussain of Tirhut are said to be contemporaries of Akbar.³ Monghyr for sometimes was the residence of Raja Mansingh. Mulla Tayyab was once the Diwan of Bihar and Hajipur. Rai Patr Das was made the Diwan of Bihar in the thirtieth year of Akbar's reign.⁴ Rent in Tirhut was paid in cash and not by division of crops.⁵

1. *AA* (1910)—p. 43-45. The revenue collector should be a friend of the agriculturists. Zeal and truthfulness should be his rule of conduct. He should assist the needy husbandmen with advances of money and recover them gradually.

1. *Maasir* (1946)—Mulla Taqia is mentioned in *AA* (1927) 218-19 as a poet and a believer in *individual* faith.

2. *AT*—Contains a long list of Muslim families who came and settled down in Tirhut.

3. *Ibid*—14 The ancestors of the writer of these lines had got a Sanad from Emperor Akbar and had been honoured with the title of Choudhary—a very unique title among the Kayasthas of Tirhut. The Malikana Zemindari, without any rent, granted by Akbar, was recognised even during the British regime. The Sanad and other allied papers were burnt in a devastating fire which took place in the first decade of this century.

4. As pointed in one of the sources.

5. *ST*—93.

Under the Mughals, the present district of Monghyr was included in Sarkar Hajipur, Tirhut, Bihar and Monghyr. Teghra was one of the important Mahāls of Sarkār Hajipur. Since the days of Akbar, Teghra, with its surrounding areas of Qazi Rasulpur, Rashidpur, Ranigodhna, Begamsarai, Berhampur, etc., has been an important centre of Muslim administration on this side of the Ganges. We have given above an account of the battle of Teghra. The very fact, that an important battle between the Mughals and the Afghans took place here, necessitated the establishment of a judicial head-quarter there. I have come across the documents¹ which preserve the list of the Qāzis upto the end of the 19th. century. There have been fourteen generations of the dynasty which claims to have held the post of the Qāzi. It has been reiterated in a number of documents, referred to above, that the post of the Qāzi was hereditary and they simply obtained royal confirmation of the fact by the succeeding emperors. The area of Teghra, as given in the Muslim sources, show that it included probably the present district of North Monghyr. Various villages, surrounding the area, are named after the Muslim Nawabs, whose buildings and ruins are found in abundance in this side.²

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1. I am very grateful to Sri Zabirul Hasan Khan of village Qazi Rasulpur, P. S. Bachwara, P. O. Teghra (Monghyr), who, very kindly, placed at my disposal all his documents. Some of these documents bear the seal of Aurangzeb, Farrukhsiyar and Muhammad Shah. The family possesses a continuous history. Their claim was recognised by the British Collectors. For the names of Amils, Cf. *ADB*-507-508.
 2. The names of the Qāzis, as preserved in the list, quoted above, are as follows—
 1. Qāzi Muhammad Said
 2. „ Abul Rajjaque
 3. „ Gholam Mohiuddin
 4. „ Mozzaffar
 5. „ Muhammad Monawwar
 6. „ Muhammad Shariff

Prince Salim was associated with Bihar since the beginning of the 17th. century. During the latter part of his father's rule, he had come over to this side in a rebellious mood. During the early period of Jahangir (1605-1627) Jahangir's reign, few Mahāls of Bhagalpur and Purnea district were included in the Suba of Bengal whose capital was at Rajmahal. The policy of appointing separate governors for Bengal and Bihar was followed by Jahangir. Bihar continued to be an independent administrative unit in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. After Qutubuddin Kokalatash, Jahangir appointed Shariff Khan to the Suba of Bihar but he was soon displaced by Asaf Khan, the best imperial governor of Akbar's reign. Asaf Khan was succeeded by Lala Beg or Baz Bahadur and the latter by Alauddin Islam Khan.¹ Islam Khan failed to control the Rhotas and he was replaced by Abdur Rahman entitled Afzal Khan till 1612.

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7. „ Muhammad Syed
 8. „ Golam Samadani.
 9. „ Faiyaz Ali
 10. „ Wazarat Ali
 11. „ Amir Hassan
 12. „ Badru Hassan
 13. „ Jalilul Hasan
 14. „ Zahirul Hasan.

—Taken an average of 25 years for each the total comes to 350 years—Zahirul Hassan is in possession of huge lot of documents, which, if carefully studied may throw some light on contemporary history.

1. *PIHC*—VI—p. 348 ff. (Waltair). After Kokalatash, Jahangir Quli Khan was made the governor of Bihar (*Memoirs of Jahangir*—S. Gupta Edn.—88). Then Islam Khan was sent from Agra to Bihar. Islam Khan's brother was incharge of Sarkar Monghyr. Sardar Khan and Hasan Ali Khan were the Jagirdars of Monghyr in 1619. For details about Jahangir's reign—Cf. *Tarikh-i-Salimshahi*, S. Gupta edition—p. 81 ff. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, S. Gupta edition—p. 87 ff.

Afzal was followed by Zafar Khan and the latter by Ibrahim Khan. Ibrahim Khan was directed to invade the dominions of that refractory chief, the territory of Kokrah and its diamond mines in possession of Durjansal [Zemindar and dispossess him. Ibrahim marched against that Zemindar. In recognition of his services, Ibrahim was given the title of Fath Jang.¹ Then followed Mirza Shamsuddin Hussain, entitled Jahangir Quli Khan, Sheikh Hussain entitled Muqarrab Khan and Prince Parwez who gave his name Parwezabad to a village on this side of the Ganges, known today as Pahleza. Prince Parwez was the first royal prince (1621) of the Mughal blood who came to rule Bihar. He ruled through his deputy. After the suppression of the rebellion, Nazur Kheweshgi of Qasur, an official of Parwez built Sangi Masjidât Patna.² The inscriptional evidence on a dilapidated Masoleum at Champanagar (Bhagalpur) takes us to the time when Prince Parwez was the governor of Bihar.

When Prince Parwez was the governor, Mukhlis Khan, the brother of Fedai Khan, was his deputy in Bihar. A few years after the elevation of Nur Jahan, Khurram began to interrupt the harmony of the state. Nurjahan had long suspected the intentions of Khurram, in whose bosom ambition was the dominant feeling. To Jahangir's doubt, Nurjahan answered—"I can too well discover that, under the smiles of allegiance which so frequently play upon the features of Prince Khurram in his father's presence, *Revolt of Prince Khurram* hypocrisy lurks like the serpent in a bed of flowers." On account of Nurjahan's attitude, Khurram lost energy and soon took route to Bengal. After having settled the government of

1. *Memoirs* (S)—p. 108-9. Kamgar Khan, the author of *Ma-asir-i-Jahangiri*, was the son of Sardar Khan who came to the court in the 14th. year of Jahangir's reign, and received a *tuyul* of Hajipur (in Monghyr) some paraganas in Bihar. (Cf. *Ibid*—p. 213).

2. *JBRs*—XXXII-232. A mosque at Patna built by an officer of Prince Parwez contains a line—"Mismar Sakht Qilai Maj-haowli Wa but kada."

Bengal, he turned his thought to the neighbouring province. Prince Khurram sent a firman to Mukhlis Khan demanding the surrender of Patna. Raja Bhim obtained the possession of the *Subā*. When Khurram arrived at Patna from Akbarnagar, many of Parwez's officers and Jagirdars joined him.¹ The governor fled at his approach and the wealthy Zemindars offered their allegiance.²

Khani Dauran was appointed to the Suba of Bihar. From Bihar, Khurram decided to proceed towards Jaunpur, Banaras, Chunar, Allhabad and Oudh. The governor of the fort of Rohtas, Mubarak Khan, surrendered.³ Darbhanga and Hajipur had been assigned as Jagirs to Abdulla Khan. Raja Narayan Mal of Dumaraon joined Khurram, whose plans were frustrated in 1624 A. D. as a result of the imperialist victory over the Tons.⁴ Khurram was compelled to abandon Bengal, Bihara and Orissa and seek shelter in Deccan again. Prince Parwez made over the government to Mahabat Khan who was subsequently succeeded by Roostam Khan.

Mulla Taqia tells that Jahangir granted fifteen bighas of land to Syed Muhammad Mustafa, for his livelihood, by a Firman in 1015 A. H. The Mahalla, today, is known as Chak Syed Jahan in Tirhut (Darbhanga). The grant was made

1. *JBRs*—XXXIII. 251 ff.

2. Robert Caunter, M. Elphinstone, S. Lancpool *Nur Jahan & Jahangir* (S. Gupta edn.) pp. 43-60; 91-92; 96-98.

3. *Ibid*—Cf. *SHB*—II. 323; *Memoirs* (S)—163, 177-78, 180-81, 183. The supporters of Khurram were repulsed at Rajmahal by Mirza Nathan. Their desertion forced Khurram to submit. His wife, Mumtaz, was sent to the fort of Rohtas for delivery. Two of her female attendants left behind Patna were kidnapped by the Portuguese (*SHB*—II. 323). Jahangir's rule was restored in Bihar.

4. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (Rogers & Beveridge) Cf. S. N. Bhattacharya—“Rebellion of Shah Jahan and his Career in Bengal”—*IHQ*—X—No. 4 (Dec. 1934). The Dutch account says—Qasim Khan was the governor of Patna at the time of Islam Khan's death in Bengal. Cf. *JBRs*—XXXII. 230.

to enable the Maulvi to preach Islam in Tirhut.¹ Various Zemindaries were created in the reign of Jahangir²—(a) Guru Prasad was created the Zemindar of Tappas Akbarnagar (eight miles west of Bhagalpur); (b) Basudeo was favoured with the grant of Tappa Mandar; (c) Tappas Simri and Hamidpur (now in Saharsa district) were granted to two brothers Farid and Hafiz; (d) Tappa Chottumi (Chautham in Monghyr district) was granted to Murari Shahi by Akbar; (e) Tappas Rajakpur in Thana Sultanganj, and Secunderpur were granted to Rabi Choudhary.

An inscription on the Masoleum of a Muslim saint at Champanagar (Bhagalpur) relates that it was built in 1622–23 A. D. by one Khwaja Ahmad Samarqandi Faujdar of Sarkar Monghyr.³ Till 1614 A. D., Qasim Khan was in-charge of Monghyr. Qasim Khan was the brother of Alauddin Islām Khan. Two Jagirdars of Sarkar Monghyr, viz., Sardar Khan and Hasan Ali Khan (1619), have also been mentioned.⁴ Tradition asserts that Raja Purushottam Thakur (1617–1641) of Tirhut was invited by the imperial revenue Collector, who had come to collect tribute, at Qilāghat, Darbhanga, and then treacherously murdered. His widow went to Delhi and made a complanit against this high-handedness. The culprit was brought to book by the imperial command. There is some difference of opinion regarding this event among the various traditions of Tirhut.⁵

1. *Maasir* (1946).

2. *BPP*—XLIII—p. 110 ff (Part II, No. 66 of 1932) Vide K. K. Basu—"The Early History of the Zemindars of Bhagalpur" Cf. my article—"History of Tappa Chanduari." in the *JBR* of 1957.

3. *HSAB*—XIV—p. 82.

4. *Ibid*—66.

5. *ST*—217; *MTV*—(Uttarārdha) pp. 26–28. Darbhanga was an important centre of the Muslims since the days of the Tugluqs. Various place-names are even today associated with the ex-rulers or officers of the State. Darbhanga was a Mahal of Sarkar Tirhut under the imperial Mughals and the head-quarter station of the Faujdar. Cf. *ED*—VII, 67; *SIA*—(1901) p. 1.

For purely revenue adjustments, Tirhut used to be mentioned separately not only from Bihar but even from Hajipur and Champaran.¹ Tirhut was not governed

Shah Jahān separately from Patna and Bihar² after (1628-58) Jahangir's time as there is no mention of

Tirhut separately from that of Bihar in the time of Shah Jahān. The reasons are not far to seek. Shah Jahan had experienced difficulties during the period of revolt. On his accession to the throne, he made Khan Alam the governor of Bihar in 1628. From 1632 to 1639, Abdulla Khan was the governor of Bihar, but he was soon recalled and Shaistakhan (1639-49) was appointed the Governor. In the first year of his reign Saiyyad Muhammad Mukhtar Khan was appointed Tuyuldar of Monghyr. He distinguished himself in a campaign against the Raja of Dumaraon in 1637. Another Tuyuldar was Mahaldar Khan. From the *Padishahnama*, we learn that in 1639, Bhagalpur was made the office of the imperial Faujdar and it was held by Atish Khan Dakshini. The last governor, under Shah Jahān, was Allahwardi Khan.

Shah Jahān had close connections with Tirhut. He conferred the title of Raja on Gajasingha of Bettia.³ We have the following names of the Faujdars⁴ of Tirhut during the time of Shah Jahān.

(a) Ehtasham, son of Masum Bakhtyar Khan Dakhani. His Sanad dated 1641 has been noticed.

(b) Mirza Abdul Rasul Khan (1632-39) is said to be the traditional founder of Mahalla Rasulpur⁵ at Darbhanga. He was the son of Nawab Abdulla Khan Bahadur Ferozejang (Governor of Bihar).

(c) Nawab Sazāwār Khan (1655-57) is said to have died at Darbhanga. His Sanad of 1066 A. H. has been noticed.

1. *SIA*—p. LI.

2. *ED*—VII. 137-8.

3. *ST*—207.

4. *Maasir*—(1946).

5. Was this Rasul Khan founder of Rasulpur in Teghra ?

(d) Mirza Abul Maāli, entitled Mirza Khan a supporter of Aurangzeb and the founder of Mahalla Mirzapur and "Mirza Khan kā Talāb" at Darbhanga. He died in 1664 A. D.

According to the Mithilā tradition,¹ during the reign of Sundar Thakur (1641-68), Shah Jahān got Tirhut thoroughly resurveyed and fresh revenue roll was prepared. The name of one more Nawab of Tirhut during his reign is available from an indigenous Maithili source, from which we learn that Nawab Haqiqat Khan was in charge of Tirhut in 1628.² Elsewhere it has been recorded that the two Brāhmaṇas from Tirhut were presented on the 5th. Safar year II before Shah Jahān, each of whom claimed power of not only to quote, word for word, and in the same arrangement, ten fresh lines of Poems, "in the language of the Hindus", composed by ten poets, without having heard them even once before, but also to compose off hands, similar lines and in similar metres and rhymes, so as to constitute replies thereto. Shah Jahan granted them each a robe of honour and a cash reward of one thousand rupees.³ They were each granted two villages in Tirhut to which they belonged.

A *Virudāvali*, composed by Raghudeva Misra, eulogizes Shah Jahān. The whole book is in praise of the emperor. Hence it may be assumed that he was connected with the court of Shah Jahān. Raghudeva bears the adjective *Srutidhara* in the *Pañji*. He had an elder brother Harideva. It is said that Raghudeva presented himself at the court of Shah Jahān to prefer his claim to the Raj of Tirhut as an inheritance from his maternal grand father, Achutya Thakur, second of

1. *MTV*—(*Uttarārdha*)—pp. 29-20; *MD*-78.

2. *Mithilāṅka* (Maithili Section) p. 12—लसं ५०९ आबण वदि १४ रवौ पुनः परम भट्टारकाश्वपति गजपति नरपति राज्यत्रयाधिपति सुरत्राण शासन् साहजर्हा सम्मानित नवोबाव इकीकति खान सम्मुख्यमानतीरमुक्त्यन्तरिततीसाठतया संलग्न झोरिआग्रामे.....

The document refers to the Sale of a Dāsa or slave.

3. *PIHC* (Madras) p. 350-51. Askari's Article—"Bihar during the time of Shah Jahān."

the sons of Mahesa Thakura, to become the Raja of Tirhut.¹ Various land grants in Tirhut have been discovered by Professor Askari in the surrounding areas of Hajipur. A copy of the Sanad of the time of Shah Jahān is preserved in the Patna University library. Shah Jahān's firman bears the endorsement to the effect that "at no time the area of the land granted by emperor Jahangir in the second year be reduced, and should be treated as hereditary grant."²

A new family of Muslim Zemindar came into existence at Simri Bakhtiyarpur (Saharsa) during the time of Shah Jahān. The founders of the family of the Choudhary of Bakhtiyarpur are said to have been two brothers, Sheikh Gholam and Sheikh Siddique, who came from Jaunpur in 1600 A. D. and married the daughters of Chaudhary Farid and Choudhary Hafiz, who, then held the *Tappas* Salimabad, Simri, Kachaut and Hamidpur. Choudhary Farid offered to give a grant of *Tappa* Simri if they cleared the Jungles. Subsequently, a dispute arose with the neighbouring Zemindar of Pargana Nishankpurkurha and they went to Delhi and obtained a royal charter from the Emperor, Shah Jahan.³

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1. *BUJ*—I. 79-80. For Raghudeva—Cf. *MTV*—(Uttarārdha) p. 20. He says that Shah Jahān granted him Jagir in village Yajñapallr (Jagaili) in Purnea district (p. 21)—Hemaṅga Thakur was arrested for non-payment of dues and was later on released. He composed, there in prison, an almanac, containing details of eclipses (solar and lunar) for 1100 yrs. The *MSS* is in the Raj Library.
 2. *PUJ*—VII—p. 129 ff.
 3. *MG*—pp. 199-200. In 1126 Fasli, it passed on to Gholam Mohammad who had some difficulty owing to the aggression of Deokaran Singh Dundia of Tirhut. Gholam Mohammad brought a complaint before the Nawab of Monghyr, Sarmast Ali Khan, who granted him the Sanad of the Estate and himself defeated Deokaran Singh. Gholam Mohammad, was followed by Gholam Ali, and he by Hedayatullah. He was attacked by Raja Rupanarayan who wanted to sieze Pharkiya but was defeated. Hedayat was treacherously killed and Rupanarayan looted his residence and

The whole of Bihar, as usual, continued to be under Shah Jahān's rule and the old administrative system flourished. Till the advent of political ferment on account of Shuja's revolt in connection with the Civil war, Bihar, on the whole had a peaceful life during the regime of Shah Jahān.¹

Shuja was appointed the Governor of Bengal in 1639 A. D. (1639-1660 A. D.). The idea of the Bengal presidency, as conceived in 1804, was, first of all, thought out in the time of Shuja. As the governor of Bengal, Shuja in 1652 granted the East India company a *Nishan* or Prince's order by which the English were allowed to trade in Bengal on payment of Rupees Three thousand a year in lieu of all kinds of custom dues. Boughton, the English Surgeon, was in his high favour. Saltpetre was the chief item of export from North Bihar and its chief centre was Singhiya or Lalganj, north of Patna.² Shuja brought into control the Zemindars of Morang. He was not very happy in Bengal as the climate of Rajmahal did not suit him and so he wanted a few healthier places of Patna.

destroyed the Sanad. Gholam Ali recovered the estate from Alivardi Khan and in 1791 Mohammad Ali moved to Bhakhtiyarpur.

1. *MG*—(1926) p. 139. The Monghyr artisans' excellence
 - (a) in the work of art had acquired more than a local reputation by that time. One of the earliest products of the district appears to be blackstone throne or Masnad of the Nawab Nazims of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. There is an inscription stating—"This auspicious throne was made at Monghyr in Bihar by the humblest of slaves, Khwaja Najar of Bokhārā in 1052 A. H." = 1643 A. D.
 - (b) Dullan Singh of Giddhour got the title of Raja from Shah Jahān in 1651 (by a Firman) (*Ibid*-211).
 - (c) Few remains in Kharagpur are reminiscent of Shah Jahān's reign—e.g. A marble Slab shows that it was built in 1656 A. D. (*Ibid*-225).

2. *SA*—V. 313; *WEAB*—I; *CB*.

He was very fond of hunting and once, while on hunting in Jeytore (Jatur in Banka), he conferred the estate, by a Sanad in, 1065 A. H. (= 1654-55 A. D.) on Baijnath, a Brahman of Tirhut.¹ Shuja ruled for about eighteen years (*i.e.*, between 1049-57 and 1059-68).²

The year 1657 is a fateful date in the history of Mughal India because it was on the 6th. September of this year that Shah Jahān fell ill and the Civil War for the mastery over the Mughal throne began. Shuja crowned himself at Rajmahal.³ He wrote to Dara asking for the grant of Monghyr, which formed a part of Dara's province of Bihar.

Civil War Dara was prepared to give away the fort of Monghyr provided that the fortress was dismantled and Shuja's son did not reside there. Monghyr was virtually in the hands of Dara.⁴ Allahwardi, the last governor of Shah Jahān in Bihar, was appointed on March 25, 1657. When Shuja marched to Patna, Allahwardi, without offering resistance, marched towards Banaras where he was made to join Shuja's standard.

Being pursued by the imperialists, Shuja pushed on to Monghyr and protected by strong defences, he held out till the adverse circumstances of Dara compelled him to send urgent letters to his son to patch up peace with his uncle.⁵ After the battle of Samugarh, Aurangzeb conferred upon Shuja the whole of Bihar in addition to his viceroyalty. Shuja changed his mind and wanted to make a bid for the throne. After occupying the whole of Bihar, he proceeded towards Allhabad.⁶ Manucci says that Allahwardi Khan, having recei-

1. BPP—XLIII. p. 113.

2. JBRs—XXXI. 244.

3. Cf. K. R. Qanungo—*Darasikoh*.

4. The treaty of May 1658—regarding Dara's orders for the surrender of his eastern provinces to Shuja, after his flight from Agra pledging a partition of the empire, are significant in this connection.

5. JBRs—XXXI. 247; Cf. SA.

6. *Ibid*—248 ff.

ved a secret letter from Aurangzeb, played the role of a traitor. Shuja retreated via Patna and Monghyr to Rajmahal. Abul Maāli, at first, joined Shuja but later deserted him. Abul Maāli had Jagirs in Bihar. He was the son of Mirza, Fauzdar of Tirhut and Darbhanga. Nurul Hussan, a pillar of Shuja's army, was appointed at Patna. Aurangzeb was crowned in 1658-59 but the process of Civil War continued.

Mir Jumla and Prince Muhammad were made incharge of operations against Shuja between 1659 and 1664. They pursued him to Monghyr. When the imperial army reached Monghyr, they learnt of the enemy's strong defence at Jake-poorah, about 100 yards away from Suryagarha. They stayed at Monghyr.¹ The imperial army won over Raja Bahroz of Kharagpur. Forced by the treachery of Bahroz, Shuja abandoned Monghyr on 6th. of March 1659. Mir Jumla, the real commander of the campaign, sent suitable instructions to the governor of Bihar (Daud Khan Qureshi, 1659-1664) to recruit men, enlist Mankhalis² and Kakar leaders and some Pahalwāns (fighting men) of Darbhanga and Mehisi, to collect boats and then to attack Shuja on the left bank of the Ganges and create a diversion. He further requested Daud³ to summon rich Nobles like Hadi, Abul Maāli, Ali Khan and others. Daud paid the soldiers three month's advance pay. He soon collected large force including Pahalwāns from Darbhanga and Mehisi along with other equipments. He purchased some boats and equipped each of them with ten gunners and artillery. Daud marched along the north bank of the Ganges on the 14th. May, 1659, with a number of officials.

Daud left his brother's son, Sheikh Muhammad Hayat, as his deputy and then started from Patna. The flooded rivers stood as impediments, while the whole of eastern Bihar was

1. *SMJ*—154 ff.

2. *AN*—III. 169, 186, 191. The Mankhali was an Afghan family which had opposed Akbar's conquest of Bengal.

3. *SMJ*—p. 180 ff.

guarded by Shuja's men. As a matter of fact, the floods on the Kośi river brought Daud to an absolute halt at *Qāzi-Qera*,¹ opposite Bhagalpur, where he had reached in about three weeks' time. He was forestalled there by Shujaite admiral, Khwaja Miski, who had a large flotilla.² Daud decided to stay on at *Qazi-Qera* till the rains had ended and Kośi waters had subsided. He sent ninety boats to fetch Rozbihanis who had arrived at Bhagalpur. Daud placed ten equipped boats, each with ten armed pickets, to guard the rivers at night. Acting on Daud's instruction, Rashid entrenched his tours from bank to bank. Khwaja Miski had to retreat to Bhagalpur, where he captured a Fauzdar of Mir Jumla, who was later on released.³

On the 22nd. of August, at the recovery of Rajmahal, Shuja, flushed with the victory, ordered his general Fidai Khan to go to Monghyr and fight the imperialist from Bhagalpur to Suryagarha, occupy all villages and roads and control all ferries with his own men. He was required, in co-operation with Mishki, to attack Daud, who had then crossed to the right bank between Bhagalpur and Kahalgaon. Ali Quli's nephew, Shamsher, did not risk any battle with the numerically superior force of Fidai and so leaving Bhagalpur, retreated to Jahangira (Sultanganj). From Bhagalpur, Fidai captured Jahangira from its commander, Ismail and placed *Tarafdars* and *Rahdars* in every village, controlled ferries and awaited Shuja's instructions. Ismail was wounded and died at Monghyr.⁴

1. AGN—514. Cf. *The English Factories in India*—X, 285. Pickering letters from Patna (16th. May) gives the number of Daud's army as 5000 horses; Chamberlain's letter (17th. May) gives the date of Daud's departure as 17th. May.
2. Cf. ZNA—95-96; AGN—513-4; *Poem*—179-80.
3. *Poem*—180-201. Was Rashid, mentioned above, the founder of village Rashidpur? Rashid's remnants in form of Buildings are still extant on the river Balan, between Bachwara and Dalsinghsara.
4. *Poem*—201-17; AGN—514; TS—124 a-125 b.

Monghyr was then well-guarded by Daud's men, Muhammad Hussain was in charge of forts, while its environs were controlled by his five associates Rasul, Mirza, Hasan, Shamsheer and the brother of deceased Ismail. Shuja asked Fedai to control all ferries and collect revenue.

Leaving Jehangira, Fedai, advised by Mishki, embarked on his flotilla to encircle Daud.¹ Shuja's men were forced to retire to Jehangira. He placed Mishki with his boats at Jehangira to prevent Daud from coming to Rajmahal.² Daud, by this time, had forced a passage across Kosi and after crossing the Ganges, had neutralised the increased activities of Shuja in Monghyr, Jehangira and Bhagalpur. After routing Khwaja Mishki near Kahalgaon and forcing a passage across, Daud was joined by the Shujaite Faujdar of Purnea.

While Shuja was making arrangements to prevent Daud's entry into Rajmahal, Daud received a letter from Aurangzeb ordering him to cross the Ganges near Monghyr and await there the arrival of Farhad Khan. Above Monghyr, the Ganges forms the boundary between it and Tirhut for about thirty miles. Bagmati joins Gandaki, which for nine or ten miles, forms the boundary between Bhagalpur and Tirhut.³ Mishki's force at Jehangira was manned by the Portuguese. Mishki's force was expelled by the Rozbihanis under Rashid, sallying out of his camp at Gogri (opposite Monghyr). Shuja's men had to abandon Jehangira before the simultaneous advance of Daud's army from Monghyr in two lines.⁴ Daud proceeded. Shujaites remained entrenched at the Kosi. In the battle on the Kosi, Jamal was killed. Khurja Mishki fled. Daud, crossing the Kosi, with the Mughals, Pathans and Sheikhs, and being informed by a horseman from Purnea, deputed his Bakshi Fathulla to sieze everything from the

1. *Ibid*—218-23.

2. *Ibid*—223-38. For war against Shuja Cf. Khafi Khan's "*History of Aurangzeb*" (S) p. 38 ff.

3. *MEI*—II. pp. 5-17.

4. *Poem*—252-95; *AGN*—524.

Shujaite Faujdar of Purnea, who was taken into the imperial service.¹ Rajmahal was recaptured by Mir Jumla, who made necessary administrative arrangements there. The whole country, upto Monghyr, again came under control. Mir Jumla,² with the help of Daud, Dilair (sent by the emperor) and the Faujdar of Darbhanga, Mirza Khan, were deputed to cross the Mahānadi. Shuja was compelled to abandon his scheme and flee to Dacca and ultimately to Arakan where he perished.

Mir Jumla transferred his capital to Dacca from Rajmahal. His death (March 31, 1663) was followed by a general wave of laxity and disorder. His *Parwānā* had till now regulated the East India Company's affairs in Bihar and Bengal and protected the English traders against all claims of customs. His death raised the question of the legality of their right to this exemption, as his *Parwānā* now ceased to operate and as the old Firman of Shah Jehan, on which they based their claim, was continued and renewed by Aurangzeb. Freed from the restraints of Mir Jumla, the officers in Bengal and Bihar began to demand customs from the English and this created complications for the future.³

The throne of Delhi did not prove to be a bed of roses for Aurangzeb during the early years of his reign. The problem, created by the civil war, took much of his time and energy and the treasury (1658-1707) was exhausted. The instability, thereby created, had afforded Shuja to rule Bihar for a number of years notwithstanding heavy odds from all

1. SA—I and II (Cal. 1925) pp. 593-94.

2. AGN—269; Poem—135-36; ZNA—91; TS—112b also FA—
Following persons accompanied Mir Jumla in his campaign against Shuja—Zulfiqar Khan, Islam Khan, Kumar Ramsingh, Daud Khan, Fidai Khan, Indradyumna, Bhaosingh Chattrasala Ithisami Khan, Fateh Jang Khan Ruhela, Rao Amar Singh, Chandrawat, Islas Khan, Khawas Khan, Ektaz Khan, Rashid Khan Ansari, Lodi Khan, Aliquli Khan and others.

3. SHB—II, 350.

sides. It has been usual for all ages that men always look forward to the rising star and naturally Aurangzeb got support from all quarters, when people became sure of his victory. Shuja was deserted even by his own men in Bihar, which again came under the imperial control. Traces of Shuja's rule are found at a number of places in North Bihar. Aurangzeb strengthened his hold over Bihar and able governors were appointed to look after this state of ours.

Daud Khan Quraishi (1659-1664) was the first governor of Bihar under Aurangzeb. We have seen his activities against Shuja in Bihar. On the 15th. of January, 1659, he received a Firman from (1659-1664) the Emperor to the effect, that he should take charge of the government of the *Suba* of Bihar. After the defeat of Shuja, Daud returned to Patna. He was ordered to proceed against the Cheros of Palamu. In his campaign against the Cheros, Daud started on April 24, 1663 with Mirza Khan, the Faujdar of Darbhanga, Tahawwur Khan, the Jagirdar of Chainpur and Rājā Bahroz of Monghyr and other Faujdars.¹ Mirza Khan of Darbhanga, with 300 cavalry and 200 musketeers, had formed the *Mirza Khan of Darbhanga* van.² He had succeeded Sazawar Khan on his death in the 31st. year of Shah Jehan's reign, as the Faujdar of Darbhanga. He held the Faujdari, with a brief interval, till his death in 1074 A.H. He was a successful commander and had led the army in a number of such engagements. He was one of the most popular Faujdars of Tirhut and various stories and legends are connected with him in Tirhut.³ Daud Khan, with the help of these chiefs, succeeded in annexing Palamu to the *Suba* of Bihar. Mankhali Khan, the Faujdar of Saran, appointed on January 4, 1659, was transferred as the Faujdar of Palamu. Raziuddin succeeded him in Saran in 1664 A. D. During the absence

1. *SA* (3rd. edn. 1928) p. 34.

2. *Ibid*—p. 35.

3. *Mashir* (1946). Cf. Askari—"Bihar in the Time of Aurangzeb." *JBRs*—XXXI. 244 ff. and XXXII. 56-73; 155-82.

of the governor, Daud Khan, from his headquarter, Sheikh Muhammad Hayat officiated in his place.

Laskhar Khan succeeded Daud Khan in Bihar in 1665. Certain administrative changes were made during his regime.

Palamu was placed under the direct control of the Subadar of Bihar. Mankhali was transferred. Tavernier and Bernier who visited Patna at the end of the first year of

Lashkar's governorship, furnish us with many valuable information¹—"Patna (Bihar) has eight Sarkars and 245 parganas yielding 95 lacs and 80,000 revenues." Tavernier says—"The Dutch Company had an establishment there (Patna) on account of their trade in saltpetre which they refine at a large village called Chapra, ten *kos* above." These two foreign travellers throw sufficient light on the contemporary history. As we are not directly concerned with other aspects, they need not detain us here. Laskar's administration on the whole passed on peacefully and these was nothing remarkable like that of his predecessor.

Laskhar Khan was succeeded by Ibrahim Khan in Bihar. When he was in the second year of his governorship, Masum Khan, the Faujdar of Darbhanga (December 1663 to January 1670) son of Shah Nawaz Khan, informed the emperor on the 2nd. May, 1669, that a pretender impersonating Shah Shuja had appeared in the vicinity of Morang, north of Purnea and had caused much commotion in the neighbourhood. The emperor ordered to take necessary steps in the matter. Similar instructions were issued to Fidai Khan, the Faujdar of Gorakhpur.

The hilly country of Morang or the Terai district was a source of frequent trouble to the Mughal Emperor. Its conquest was a matter of pride and Shuja had once boasted of having conquered the Morang district. Mirza Khan, the Faujdar of Darbhanga, had been deputed to cooperate with the governor of

1. *Travels of Bernier.*

Gorakhpur, Allahahwardi Khan, in chastising the Zemindars of Morang.¹ Their combined efforts had some success and they were able to chastise the Zemindars of Morang which was entered by the Mughal troops for the first time in 1664. This was the first organised campaign, against the Morang Zemindars, under the Mughals, led by Mirza Khan of Darbhanga and Allahwardi of Gorakhpur. Mirza Khan died during the expedition. Allahwardi secured fourteen elephants and presented ten elephants to the emperor. On hearing from Masum about the appearance of a false Shuja in Morang, Ibrahim and Fedai were ordered to capture him.² In 1676 A. D. (= 1087 A. H.), Saista Khan conquered Morang afresh.³ Raja Sundar Thakur (1668-1690) of Tirhut is said to have put down the inhabitants of the Morang area,⁴ north-east of Purnea. Mithilā tradition asserts that when the Morang king showed signs of revolt, Mahinath Thakur deputed his younger brother Narpati Thakur to help Aurangzeb's army in suppressing the Morang Chief.⁵ Mahinath, thus, won the favour of Aurangzeb. It is likely that the Darbhanga Faujdars might have been helped by the Maithil kings in the conquest of Morang, since it was a problem in which the Maithil king was also interested. It was not until a late period of the Mughal history, that they took possession of the northern part of the district of Purnea.

Jalalgarh, in the district of Purnea, was their boundary towards that quarter.⁶ All the northern part of Purnea district belonged to the Morang district of Nepal. These areas were added to the Sarkar of Purnea during the viceroyalty of Shah Shuja, who is credited with having suppressed the Morang chiefs. Mirza Mahiyar, son of Asfandiyar, Fauzdar of Purnea, obtained a grant of ten thousand bighas of

1. *JASB*—1873. p. 241.

2. *Ibid*—*AGN*—850, 876; *Masiri-i-Alamgiri*—64, 150.

3. *SA*—III. 41; *AGN*—850-875; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*—150.

4. *ST*—217-18.

5. *Mithilānka*—p. 37.

6. *ADP*—54.

land.¹ Saif Khan, a man of considerable enterprise, added to this part, a large territory of the Morang district.² Murshid Quli Khan suppressed the rebels in Morang through Purnea.³

The most important event during the regime of Ibrahim Khan was the devastating famine about which we have an account from the foreigners. Mr. J. Marshall, *Marshall's account* an eye-witness account, got the first evidence of famine on the 20th. May at Dumra, west of Jaintpur in Monghyr. By this time, the English had built their factory at Singhiya,⁴ north of the Ganges. The English were not very much pleased with the governor of Bihar on account of his interference in Salt-petre trade.⁵ J. Marshall passed through Bhagalpur and Monghyr and has given a good account of the Monghyr Fort. He, then, reached Patna. He, then, refers to certain places in North Bihar, specially Hajipur. Hajipur, according to Marshall, was a great town situated on the Ganges and the Gandak.⁶ Before the famine, there were four thousand houses here. He also refers to the Sonapur Fair and also to the garden of Shah Shuja near it. The East India Company had a house there for which the authorities paid Rs. 3/8 only per month.⁷

Marshall, further, refers to a magician and a Brahman, Ramnath by name, of Muzzaffarpur near Meshi in Champaran. According to this foreign observer grapes grew in abundance at Hajipur. Marshall took grapes at Singhiya. He, then, proceeded to a village Bhakra in Hajipur subdivision

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1. *Ibid*—86. In Bhawanipur (Dhamadatha), the Muslims have a mosque built by Nawab Asfandiyar Khan and provided with an endowment (ADP-68).
 2. *Ibid*—55.
 3. SHB—II, 415.
 4. *Diary* of Streynsham Master quoted in John Marshall's account, 23.
 5. Letter of Walter Clavell.
 6. Peter Mundy also gives a description of Hajipur. According to Marshall, Hajipur was ancient and ruined town.
 7. JBRS-XXXII, 66.

and refers to the famous lion-pillar of Asoka (of Vaishali). He says that a good number of people migrated to other places. This is confirmed by a local source as well. On the basis of a document, discovered by Professor Askari, it has been asserted that the grantees of certain *Madad-i-Maashiland* in Jaruha (Hajipur) had migrated to Jahangirnagar (Dacca) during the governorship of Ibrahim Khan of Bihar, on account of famine. The document bears the seal of Safi Khan Alamgir Shahi.

Mir or Amir Khan and Tarbiat Khan Barlas succeeded Ibrahim Khan. They were replaced by Mir Miran, who was appointed governor of Bihar in the 18th. year of Aurangzeb's reign. Tarbiat Khan came in the 19th. year and was soon replaced by Saifoodin Mahmood entitled Saif Khan. He imprisoned Mr. Peacock of the Singhiya factory. Then came Safi Khan in October 1680. In 1687 Buzurg Ummad Khan was the governor of Bihar as is evident from the Colophon of a persian manuscript. ¹

No authentic history of Purnea till the last quarter of the seventeenth century is known, when Ostwāl Khan was appointed Faujdar with the title of the Nawab and united the command of the frontier army and the fiscal duties of Amil. He was succeeded by Abdulla Khan, who was vested with the same powers. About 1680, Asfandiyar Khan became the Nawab of Purnea and held the office for twelve years. ² The *Akhhārāt* mentions the names of a number of officers including one Sher Afgan, Faujdar of Purnea. The *Akhhārāt* (April-1693) says—"An Arzadahast of Sepahdar Khan, the Faujdar of Darbhanga, was submitted to his Majesty to the effect that

the Banjaras in the vicinity of Rajpura had
The Banjaras created disturbances in the previous year
 and they were expected to raise their heads
 again in this quarter and, therefore, the Subadar and Faujdar
 should be ordered to give aid to the writer." ³ Orders were

1. JBRs—XXXII. 162.

2. PG—35. Asfandiyar was succeeded by Babbaniyar and the latter by Saif Khan in 1722.

3. Infra—'The Banjaras.'

soon issued to the Chief Bakshi, Bahramand Khan, to despatch a *Husbul Hukum* to the Subadar and the Faujdar of this district that they might render the help asked for by the said Khan. After Ummad Khan, Fidai Khan came as the governor of Bihar (1694-95).¹

Fedai Khan, the governor of Bihar, was promised an increase in his rank on condition of holding the Faujdari of Tirhut in addition to his office as Subadār. The dismissed Faujdar of Tirhut, Izzat Khan, was appointed to Bihar Shariff in place of Abul Hassan. On (1695-1702) the 7th. of January, 1699, the Vakil of Fedai Khan submitted that the Banjaras had created disturbances in the region of Tirhut and he submitted that if the orders were issued to Supahdar Khan, who was the Jagirdar and Faujdar of that place to cooperate with his master, he promised to inflict condign punishment on the rebels.² On October 3, orders were further issued that Fedai Khan, the Nazim of Bihar and Faujdar of Tirhut, should be directed to undertake the task of punishing the Banjara rebels, who had spread over that district and the Nazim should draw up the documents about the management of that Faujdari and, having sealed it, send the same. Fedai's son, Muslih Khan was appointed Faujdar of Saran. Shamshair was raised to the status of Subadar after Fedai. Shamshair was succeeded Murshid Quli Khan.³

Sir Jadunath believes that Murshid Quli was never the Subadar of Bihar or deputy Subadar, but only Diwan of that province and that, too, under Aurangzeb, with whose death, his connections with Bihar ceased, i.e., to the end of 1706 A. D. So long as Azimuddin was in Bihar, Murshid Quli did not visit Bihar, even once.⁴ Azimuddin named Patna city,

1. According to the *Akhbari*, Mukhtar Khan was the Subadar of Bihar in the 38th. year and was succeeded by Fidai Khan.

2. *JBS*—XXXII. 169.

3. Between Shamshair and Murshid Quli, Azimuddin was the governor of Bihar.

4. *BPP*—LXVI. p. 6, fn. 2 (No. 129 of 1946-7).

Azimabad, after him. During the regime of Auragzeb, Tirhut, along with other parts of Bihar, played an important part in the history of eastern India. Bihar did not lag behind in supplying with the intellectual talents to the Mughal Darbar. We learn from the '*Masir-i-Alamgiri*', that Sheikh Raziuddin of Bhagalpur, a great saint and scholar, was one of the compilers of '*Fatwa-i-Alamgiri*.'¹ Mulla Jiwan and Mulla Azizullah, son of Mulla Mubarak, for many years, acted as a tutor to princess Zebunissa and it has been claimed that a document in her handwriting still exists in a Khanqā of Darbhanga.²

Different sources preserve a long list of the officials who ruled Tirhut during the reign of Aurangzeb. On the death of Sazawar Khan, in the 31st. year of Shah
Tirhut Jahan's reign, Mirza Khan succeeded as the Faujdar of Darbhanga. His services to Daud, in connection with the fight against Shuja, have been noted above. He was a very able and popular Faujdar. His successors in Darbhanga and Tirhut were (a) Masum Khan, son of Shahnawaz Khan and grandson of Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan.³ He had his residence at Banglagarh (Darbhanga). His seals, dated 1080-81, have been noticed. He came twice as Faujdar,

(b) Nussairi Khan,

(c) Sazawar Khan (for the second time) (Sic.),

(d) Sheikh Khan Mohammad (brother of Daud Khan)—
 His sanad, dated 1081 A. H., has been discovered,

(e) Hadi Khan (1086-1088),

(f) Tarbiat Khan (1088-1092),

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1. *HSAB*—XIV. 82. He was a good collector and raised to the rank of an Amir and got the title of Khan.
 2. *AT*—93. Cf. *Maāsir* (1946). *AT*—"Mulla Abul Hasan of Darbhanga was a great scholar and was a teacher of Zebunissa. His son Qazi Zarullah got a Jagir of 101 villages in Tirhut." (p. 93).
 3. *Maāsir*—1946. Masum Khan granted a Sanad to Hafiz Abdul Wahab for the maintenance of mosques in Moulyi Mahalla.

(g) Fedai Khan—(Izzat Khan dismissed and transferred to Bihar Shariff).

Asfandiyar Khan, who granted land, a well and Idgah in Banglagarh, (vide his Sandas of 1111 and 1112 A. H.) was continued by the Emperor, Alamgir. The seals of other officials have also been found out. Khudai Khan issued a number of Sanads. Muhammad Jiwan is commemorated by Mahalla Jivanganj (Darbhanga). The names of officers, like the Naib Faujdar Govindaram and Jagat rai, are also known. ¹ A document of the time of Aurangzeb, (with his seal and dated 20 Safar and 41 Julus) and mentioning the name of Murid Enayet Khan, has been recently examined by me. ² It is in the form of a Firman recording the grant of 85 bighas of Land in Pargana Imadpur, Sarkar Hajipur.

Important documents from Hajipur, discovered by Professor Askari, throw sufficient light on the history of Tirhut during the reign of Aurangzeb. Documents, bearing the seal of Amir Khan, show that he renewed the grants of fifty bighas of land in Hajipur to Sheikh Bayazid for the maintenance of the masoleum, said to have been originally built by Sivasimha of Tirhut. Safi Khan's document (October 1680) regarding the renewal of a grant to Sheikh Bayazid is an important source.³ A Parwānā of Buzurg Ummad Khan has also been discovered from Hajipur. It is dated, 15th. October 1689. ⁴ A list of the names of contemporary officials are preserved in these documents discovered at Hajipur. On November 22, 1701, Shamshair Khan was appointed the Faujdar of Tirhut in place of Fedai Khan. He continued to hold the Faujdari of Shahabad.

When Murshid Quli Khan was the Dewan of Bihar, Mahmud Khan was the Qilādār and the Faujdar of Monghyr;

1. *Ibid*—

2. Document in possession of Zahirul Hassan of Qazi Rasulpur (Teghra)—referred to above.

3. *BPP*—LXVI. pp. 45-46 (No. 129).

4. *JBR*S—XXXII. 163. Revolt of Gangaram in Bihar took place in 1680-81.

Abid Khan (Obaidullah Khan) was the Faujdar of Tājpur and Purnea and Yusuf Khan of Saran. In 1704, Amanullah was the Faujdar and custodian of Monghyr and he was given an increase in his rank. Orders were issued for the protection of the Jagir of Zulfiqar Khan in the pargana of Hajipur and of the Jagir of Khudaband Khan in the pargana of Dharampur. A reassessment of the revenue of Tirhut was made in ¹ 1685-86. Todarmal's assessment was revised and there was an increase in the revenue. The number of Mahals in Tirhut was increased from 74 to 102. ² Another revision, in this respect, was made in 1720, as we learn from the *Chahar-Gulsan* ³ that the revenues of Sarkars Champaran, Hajipur and Tirhut were raised. We know that Nawab Murshid ⁴ Quli Khan of Bengal had begun to collect land revenue through the Ijaradars, well-known as Mālzamini system.

Rāghava Singh (who changed from Thakur to Singh) is said to have been honoured with the title of Raja by Aurangzeb.⁵ He ruled between 1700 and 1739 A. D. He is said to have given the Nazrānā to the Nawab of Murshidabad and got the *Pattā Mukkarari* of Sarkar Tirhut at the rate of Rupees one lac per annum. On some complaint against the low assessment in Tirhut, the imperial officers had reassessed the revenue at Rs. 7,69,287/- only in 1685. Rāghava Singh is said to have acquired Paragana Dhamampur from the Nawab of Murshidabad. ⁶ The death of Aurangzeb let loose the forces of disruption (1707). Local chiefs began to raise their head. Narayan Singh, the brother of Kunjal Singh, who was murdered by Ruko Singh Chakwar, soon obtained the possession

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1. *AT*—Cf. Para 89, p. 22 of the *Champaran Settlement Report* (1800); Para 91, p. 31 of *Muzzaffarpur Settlement Report* (1901) C. J. Stevenson Moore.
 2. *ST*—95; Cf. *Muzzaffarpur Report*; *Mirat-i-Alam* Vide *ED*—VII. p. 64.
 3. *SIA*—p. 1. *Chahar Gulsan* of Raja Chatar Chand Kayastha.
 4. *SHB*—II. 408 ff.
 5. *AT*—p. 33.
 6. *Ibid*—Cf. *MTV*—p. 36 ff.

of Zemindari in Pargana Pharkiya. He fell in his arrears and was confined. During his absence, Pashupat Rai and Rupnarayan, Rajas of Tirhut, took possession of the Pargana in succession. Narayan obtained his release and re-established himself in the Zemindari which he held until 1742, when he was killed at Patna by one Izzat Khan, who siezed upon his property.¹

1. *HSAB*—XV. 185; Cf. *ADB*—‘*Pharkiya*’

CHAPTER VII

TIRHUT BETWEEN 1707 and 1765

With the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 A. D., the sceptre of imperial authority disappeared and the unifying string of the Mughal administration broke into pieces.

General condition till the appointment of Allivardi The decentralising tendencies, conditions for which were already present, had upper hand in all matters. Murshid Quli Khan, the able governor and financier, passed away on the 30th. of January 1727 and was succeeded in Bengal and Orissa by Shujauddin. Fakhr-u-daulah succeeded Nasrat Yar Khan as the governor of Bihar in 1727 and he held the post for five years.¹ On account of his arrogant nature, he was dismissed.² Bihar was then annexed to Bengal and remained so till 1911, when Bihar was separated from it. Shujauddin appointed Mirza Muhammad Ali (Allivardi) as the deputy governor of Bihar³ He reached Patna in 1733 with five thousand soldiers in infantry and cavalry.⁴ Delhi honoured him with title of Mahabatjang.⁵

Since the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, Bihar had become the hot bed of politics, intrigues and counter-intrigues. The Court of Delhi was not free from this infectious disease. The result was that all sorts of persons and undesirable element had begun to take advantage of the situation. The provincial governors, in their respective areas, became all powerful.

1. *Siyar*—II. 469.

2. *Ibid*—one of his mosques is in Patna City.

3. *Ibid*—472. Sanads of Fakhr-u-daullah, dated 1733 (?) have been discovered.

4. *Ibid*—295. Sanads of Fakhr-u-daullah, dated 1733 (?) have been discovered.

5. *Ibid*—473. Sanads of Fakhr-u-daullah, dated 1733 (?) have been discovered.

Their examples were copied by the smaller *fries* in their respective fields and the result was, a total weakening of the imperial authority at a time when the foreigners were knocking at the door. While the Europeans were working out their future on our soil, India had to face the brutal attack of Nadir Shah in the third decade of the 18th. century.

The invasion of Nadir Shah created problems of stupendous nature. The panic, created by Nadir's invasion, was heightened by the apprehensions of an attack on Bengal by the Marathas. The city of Patna was considered to be too weak to offer any effective resistance to such powerful enemies.¹ The British factors in Bihar, both north and south, felt unsafe and sent an urgent requisition to Fort William.² The Patna factory was authorised to recruit additional forces. Allivardi rose equal to the occasion.³ The English impression was that "they were more intent on securing their wealth than to repel the enemy."⁴ All the European factories acted in unison. A resolution, passed on November 30, 1738, refers to the contemporary situation.⁵ All sorts of rumour about Nadir Shah's invasion spread like wild fire. The stormy political condition in Bihar needed a man of strength to pilot the situation. The whole state was practically sitting on a *volcanic base* where eruption was only a matter of time.

1. *BPP*—LXXIII, 6 (No. 196).

2. *Bengal Public Consultations*—13th. April 1738.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid*—May 15, 1738.

5. *Ibid*—November 40, 1738. "As a revolution is daily expected in the Mughal's empire, which, should it happen, will very probably create insurrections and troubles all over the country and may hinder the gentleman at Patna from sending down the saltpetre in such large quantities as usual : Agreed that we write to Humphreys Cole to send us down the saltpetre as they may purchase it there from time to time but not less than 1000 bags at once." Normal situation was restored 1739 though Allivardi was on the frontier of the province towards Banaras. Cf. *BPP*—LXXIII, p. 6 ff.

Ambitious chiefs, Hindu or Muslim, from Hajipur to Purnea were trying to further their own selfish cause, when the Maratha invasion was imminent. The appointment of Allivardi as the deputy governor of Bihar marks a turning point in the history of this state. He successfully piloted through the contemporary stormy political weather.

The deputy governorship of Bihar did not prove to be a bed of roses for Allivardi at the time of his arrival. The whole of Bihar was in convulsion ¹ and the problem of the Banjāras ² added fuel to the fire. They had been a standing menace to the imperial authority since the days of Aurangzeb. They used to plunder the imperial domains and treasures. ³ Allivardi, first of all, established himself at Patna and strengthened his military establishment. ⁴ He intro-

(a) *The Banjaras* introduced order in the city, augmented the forces, gained the hearts of his subjects, chastised those who had been in the habit of disobeying and appointed Abul Karim Khan ⁵ Afgan of Darbhanga.

The whole of Tirhut was infested with the Banjaras who, in the guise of peaceful traders and travellers, laid the country

1. *Siyar*—473.

2. *Riyaz*—296. Crooke (*Tribes and castes of N. W. F. Province*, I. 179) calls them a *merchant*. Peter Mundy (*Travels*—II. 95-96) and Tavernier (*Travels* 1-30) call them a nomadic tribe of public carriers. As early as 1500 A. D., the Banjaras are referred to in the time of Sikandar Lodi (*ED*—V. 100), in the time of Cornwallis in 1791 (*Mill-British India*, V. chapter IV) Cf. Malcom—"Memoirs of Central India" II. 152. The Banjaras, probably, were the ancestors of Modern Gulguluas, wandering merchants and dealers in stone goods and other articles and indogenous medicine.

3. *Siyar*—473.

4. *Ibid*—Cf. *Riyaz* 296.

5. *Siyar* (Haji Mustafa) I. 283. Abul Karim was appointed with his 1500 Afghans who proved an asset to Allivardi in solving his early difficulties.

under contributions and plundered right and left. We learn from the *Muzzaffarnama*, that the Banjaras of Mahal Bettia frequented the regions of Oudh, Gorakhpur, Ghazipur, Bettia, Bhuara (Bhanwara in Tirhut). Bhuara was their special Jagir, with 80,000 horses and foot and a lac of oxen with them on the pretext of buying and selling. They created disturbances everywhere in the region. Allivardi ordered Diwan Chintaman Das and Hedayat Ali Khan and Karim Khan Afghan to chastise the rebels. The Banjaras, on hearing the name of Karim Khan, fled to the hills of *Makmant* (Mukwanpur) (in Nepal terai) which was famous for its strength. Karim Khan was helped, by the Raja of Bettia, in his mission. Karim Khan ascended to the hill-forts. The Banjaras took to flight towards the passes of Makmani, whose Raja was outside the realm of Hindustan. Karim wrote to the Raja and with his connivance he succeeded in taking 20,000 horses and much booty. When Karim reached Hajipur Allivardi crossed the Ganges and took by force a portion of the spoils of Abdul Karim. As for the portion not credited to the state, Karim generously distributed it among all his soldiers. He was one of the greatest heroes of his time. ¹

The Banjaras had, by this time, being aware of the weakening of the central authority, begun to come together with other rebel chiefs of the area and in vast horde engaged themselves in creating disturbances. Abdul Karim's force, with 4000 horsemen, advanced rapidly and gave them no respite. The enemy had no option but to engage in battle. There was a brief contest and the Banjaras, after that, fled to the hill. Abdul Karim wrote to the Raja of Makmani—"if my prey escape by these hill passes, know that I shall arrive at your country." The Raja closed the passage and thereby prevented escape of the rebels. Thus the Banjaras were defeated. At the time of marching back to Patna, Karim placed 20,000 Banjaras with their horses and arms before him and drove them on like a flock of sheep at once cutting

1. BPP.—LXVI—pp. 68-69 (Translation of the *Muzzaffarnama* by Sir Jadunath).

down any man who showed the least disobedience. In this way 5000 of them were killed before they reached Patna.¹

The robbers (rahbar) of the Makmāni hills killed many of the Banjaras, who had fled into the passes, and seized their property. Out of these lacs of men, probably no more than 10,000 survived and the rest of the tribe perished for their misdeeds. Those who had been put into prison, escaped afterwards, during the fight with Babarjang and Haibatjang.² Thus with the active help of the Darbhanga Afghans, Allivardi succeeded in wiping out the traces of the Banjara menace in Tirhut, disgorging and driving them out of the country. The initial victory in suppressing these Banjaras enabled him to take more effective steps in suppressing the refractory chiefs of this area.

After his great achievements, Abdul Karim Khan did not care for anybody in his pride and he began to speak words of disloyalty. The matter of sharing the property had created ill-feeling between the two and Abdul Karim now prepared for hostility.

For some days he gave up attending the court of Allivardi, remained in his own house and planned futile projects. Allivardi summoned him to his audience and posted against him men at two places in his path in the fort with a view to overthrowing him. When Karim arrived at the second post, held by Yaswant Nagar, a Nagar soldier came up from behind and wished to strike him with the sword. Abdul Karim looked at him with such angry eyes that his countenance failed. Karim arrived with two attendants in front of Allivardi. The greatest of the heroes, Mirza Dāwār Quli Beg, who stood face to face with him ready for fight, struck him with his sword. Karim hit Mirza Dāwār Quli so hard that the hilt of the sword with his finger was severed. They fought like Rustam and Asfandiyar. In the end Karim Khan was defeated and slain and his two attendants were wounded. All this time, Allivardi sat down there, watching the scene.

1. *Ibid*—p. 69.

2. *Ibid*—69 Cf. *Siyar*—473; *Riyaz*—296.

When the severed head of Abul Karim¹ was thrown among his followers, who were standing at the gate of the fort, they helplessly took to flight to save their lives.² Thus ended the career of one of the braver Afghan soldiers of his age, whom ambitious Allivardi could not tolerate for good after the work of suppressing the Banjaras had been achieved.

Allivardi was now in a position to take effective steps against the rebel Zemindars of Tirhut and other adjacent areas. These rulers had defied the authority of the previous governors and had refused to pay taxes. The turbulent attitude of these Zemindars had weakened the imperial authority and caused much loss to the revenue of the province. It was in the year 1732-33 that Allivardi reached Patna as the deputy governor of Bihar. By taking effective

*Suppression of the
rebel Chief of
North Bihar*

measures he made all turbulents and rebels obedient to him.³ The Rājā of Bettia was the foremost rebel of Bihar.⁴ In 1735,

*Measures against
Bettia*

Allivardi Khan appointed Shahawatjang with army to chastise these men and Abdul Karim Khan Afghan was ordered to support him. The country was covered with dense forest. But the invaders made their way through the jungles to the Raja's fort, where he had taken refuge. Shahwatjang laid siege to the fort and dug a mine under its tower. The Nawab's troop, after demolishing many villages, arranged for the administration of that Mahal. Dhrub Singh was defeated and brought to subjection. The victory led to the great honouring of Karim Khan.⁵

1. *Ibid*—69.

2. *Ibid*—70. Cf. *Siyar* (Haji Mustafa), I. 284.

3. *Ibid*—66.

4. *Ibid*—67. fn.—The Bettia Rajas are Jethariya Brāhmaṇas. They first secured the recognition of the Delhi emperor in Jehangir's time. On the death of Gajasingh in 1694, his possessions were partitioned among his three sons—Dalip Singh getting Bettia, another son Sheohar, and a third Madhubani. Allivardi's opponent was Raja Dhrub Singh 1715-1763 A. D., the son and successor of Dalip Singh.

5. *Ibid*—67.

Many of the Zemindars who had hitherto proved refractory, and had acted with all freedom and insolence to which the weakness of the former administration had accustomed them were set upon one after another and severely chastised.¹ Bettia was brought under complete control and fresh arrangements for the administration of the Mahal were made. The local Zemindars had no unity among themselves with the result that they could not act in unison in times of emergency. We learn from a traditional source that when Allivardi's army was knocking at the door of Bettia, there was a quarrel between Rājā Dhrub Singh of Bettia and Raghav Singh of Tirhut.² In his own interest, it was incumbent on Allivardi to put down those rebels in North Bihar and thereby restore peace, so that he might be successful in fulfilling his own aspirations of being the Nawab of Bengal.

We have seen above that Bettia was subdued in 1735. In that very year a campaign was led against the ruler of Tirhut. Before giving any detailed account, *Measures against* it is desirable to present a brief history of *Tirhut* the then Tirhut ruling chiefs. Raghava Singh (1701-1739 A. D.), Vishnu³ Singh (1739-1743) and Narendra Singh (1743-1770 A. D.) of Tirhut were contemporaries of Allivardi. Rāghava Singh is said to have been engaged in a battle with Rājā Dhruba Singh of Bettia, a contemporary of Allivardi. In this campaign, Sardar Khan was one of the servants of Rāghava Singh. Rāghava Singh is said to have acquired mukarrari lease of Sarkar Tirhut. At the instigation of Eknāth Thakur, king's nephew, Allivardi siezed his property amounting to ten or twelve lacs and carried all his family as prisoners to Patna.

1. *Siyar*—I. 284.

2. *MTV*—(*Uttarārdha*) pp. 37-38. For contemporary events Cf. *Riyaz*-296.

3. *ST*—pp. 218-20. A private document, relating to the sale and purchase of a land, in possession of Brajbhusan Prasad Shahi of Shahi Minapur, Muzaffarpur, of the time of Muhammad Shah, dated 1151 H. (=1739), bears the signature of Rājā Bishan Singh of Sarkar Tirhut, as one of the witnesses.

The Raja surrendered himself and was ordered back to Tirhut as a revenue collector on condition that he should do justice and relieve distress.¹ Some important battles are said to have taken place during the period under review and we have conflicting evidences on this point.

The *Muzzaffarnāmā*² gives an account of Allivardi's relation with the Rājā of Tirhut. The Rājā of Bhura³ (Bhanwara or Bhaura), proud of his hills and jungles and strong places, used to refuse obedience to the orders of the governor. This year (1735 A. D.), too, he began to assert his independence. Allivardi Khan marched against him "making his saddle his sleeping place." The Rājā, too, prepared for a fight. A

1. *Ibid*—Pargana Dharampur is said to have been a part of Darbhanga Raj, though no reliable evidence is there to support this view. Contemporary historians give a different picture altogether.

Cf. RV-7—इनहीं के शुभ समय विधाना। जो नवाब वीहार सुजाना।

भौड़ा आय इर्ष सुख थापी। महमद जैनुद्दीन प्रतापी।

जंग महावत मृदुल नवाबा। दोस्तीकरण प्रभु घर आवा।

This tradition is explicit on this point that Zainuddin and Mahabatjang visited Bhaura. The fact that Raghavasinh visited Murshidabad is also preserved herein (p. 6.) Cf. *JBRs*-XLVIII, P. 110 ff. It is said that Raghava Sinha acquired the *Mukarrari* lease or *Sarkar* Tirhut at an annual *Jamā* of one lac of rupees. As a result of the family feud, an attack was made on the Rājā by the Bengal Nawab. There are conflicting evidences about the Reign of Raghavasinha. He also came into conflict with the Raja of Makwanpur. Also cf. R. K. Choudhary—*The Khandawāls of Mithila* in *JBRs*-XLVIII, pp. 41-64.

2. *BPP*—LXVI, p. 68.

3. Bhanwārā, on the Nepal frontier, was a Mahal under Sarkar Tirhut since the days of Akbar. Cf. *AA*—II, 156. Gladwin, in his translation of the *Tarikh-i-Bengalā* (of Salimullah) reads the name as Phoolwareh. There were the remains of a fort at Bhawara built by Raghava Singh of Darbhanga Raj. Cf. *DG*—p. 143 ff. It had been the Capital of the Tirhut Rajas since the days of Mahesh Thakur, the founder of the Raj. Cf. *ST*—212 ff.

severe encounter took place, the like of which had not been seen before. At last the Rājā took to flight. Abdul Karim Khan was appointed to pursue him. He made forced marches, siezed the wife and children of the Raja on the skirt of Dhaulagiri hill, and sent them to the governor. The Raja made his submission, the district was brought under the administration and he returned it to him. The account of the *Muzzaffarnama* is in keeping with the accounts given elsewhere,¹ though the local traditions have confused the matter.² Raghava got the title of 'Raja' from Allivardi. The Tirhut king paid an annual *Nazrana* or *Salami* of Rs. 50,000/- only to Raja Dharanidhar, and remained in quiet possession and enjoyment of the Sarkār. Thus the rebel and the turbulent Rājā of Bettia and Tirhut were brought under subjection by Allivardi.³

Tirhut still remained a problem for Allivardi. An episode, preserved in the Mithilā tradition, deserves to be discussed here. The episode relates to a contest between the Raja of Tirhut, Narendra Singh, and the Nawab of Bengal represented by Zainuddin Ahmad Khan, Deputy governor of Bihar. The battle took place at Kandarpighat, on the bank of the Balān river between 1745 and 1749 A. D. i.e., before the death of Zainuddin Ahmed Khan, the deputy governor of Bihar. We have no solid grounds to stand on so far as the sources for this event are concerned. Lalkavi,⁴ an eye-witness, has written a long ballad on this event. In the Muslim sources, we have references to indicate some sort of struggle between the two, but they are not very clear. According to the court-poet, Narendra Singh defeated the Nawab's army but that point is not mentioned by the Muslim sources.⁵

1. ST—218-220.

2. MTV—p. 37 ff. BMI—p. 161 ff.

3. Riyaz—296.

4. "Kandarpighat-ka-Larai"

5. Even Dr. Datta's *Allivardi* does not say anything about this event. Probably he did not consult the Maithili sources.

We shall discuss below in details the circumstances leading to this battle.

We have seen above that Allivardi succeeded in bringing under his control Raja Raghava Singh of Tirhut. One of the conditions of his being re-instated in Tirhut was that he should help the Nawab in times of war.¹ Raghava Singh appointed Sardar Khan Afghan as one of his trusted servants.² Raghava Singh was succeeded by Vishnu Singh and the latter by Narendra Singh (1743-1770). It was during the reign of Narendra Singh that Tirhut was subjected for third time in 1750 to the revision of assessment.³ The assessment probably took place after the battle, the results of which are not clear. While the local tradition would have us believe that Narendra Singh thoroughly routed the Nawab's army, the Muslim sources indicates that the Tirhut king was brought to book and placed under the control of the Nawab.

The only remarkable event in the reign of Narendrasingh was this particular battle. Allivardi's force, it is said, came heavily upon the Raja on account of his habitual delay in the payment of tribute and they harassed him.⁴ Various Zemindars were brought under his control. Narendra singh was in good and friendly terms with Allivardi in the beginning.⁵ Some of his own men complained against him to Raja Ram Narāyāṇa to the effect that Narendrasingh had thrown off the shackles of the Nawab.⁶ Whatever be the truth of these accounts, maintained by tradition, one thing is crystal clear that there was a battle between the Nawab and Narendrasingh.

1. *BMI*—161, for details *Ibid*—161 ff.

2. *Ibid*—177.

3. *ST*—220-21.

4. *MD*—for a different and confused account, pp. 82-83.

5. *MTV*—(*Uttarārdha*)—pp. 54-55. Cf. *AT*—34; *ST*—221—Tradition is also responsible for the statement that Narendrasingh also helped the Subadar of Bengal against Mustafa Khan, the rebel Afghan leader.

6. *BMI*—185 ff. Cf. *MTV*—(*Uttarārdha*) p. 54-54. Certain local Zemindars were brought under control by Raja Narendra singh. Both these accounts maintain that he had to spend his time in wars.

Lalkavi's description may be hyperbolic but that there is some grain of truth in his account cannot be doubted. We have to take it as one of the contemporary sources and to verify it with the help of other ones. Tradition and folklore can not be rejected outright.

What ultimately was the actual cause of struggle between the king of Tirhut and the Nawab if not clearly known to us. A friendly ruler,¹ who had stood in good stead in Allivardi's time of distress, became his enemy, how, when and why, is a mystery and no obvious reasons can be adduced in the present state of our knowledge. A simple complaint could not have been the cause of a war of this type, as one would have us believe.² Another account says that on the arrival of the army at Bhaura for the collection of tribute, they came to learn that the king was bent upon having a war.³ The complaint against Narendra singh was that he had never helped the Government in times of war and had always avoided to pay taxes.⁴ The Riyaz⁵ points out that the tract of Bettia and Bhaura were refractory and turbulent. Their regions had never been previously trod by the feet of the armies of former Nazims, nor had their proud heads, bended before, to any of the Subādārs. They had never before paid the imperial revenues and taxes. After fighting

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1. *BMI*—184. Narendra had helped Zainuddin against Mustafa-Khan Afghans and his act of bravery had elicited a poet's appreciation. Chandra Kavi gives the following details—

ऐसे महाजोर घोर गंग सुलतानी, बीच झूमत बबर जंग सन्नर करीन्द्र है ।
औलिया नवाब नामदार पूछे बार-बार, ये दोक कौन अरिबानर गरीन्द्र है ।
शाहेब सुजान जयनुद्दीन अहमद खान, सामने है अर्जकरै कहे कविचन्द्र है ।
ये तो दोनवार केशोशाह के अजील, शाह आगो राधोसिंह जी के नवक नरेन्द्र है ।

From this account it is clear that the Raja of Tirhut and the Donwara ruler of Narhana helped Zainuddin against the Afghāns.

2. *MTV*—pp. 55-56 (Uttarārdha).
3. *MD*—83.
4. *BMI*—pp. 197-98. He gives the name of a man, Prithvi Jha, who complained to Raja Ram Narayan and requested him to move the king, Ahmad Shah, to take necessary action against Narendra Singh (*Ibid*—p. 213).
5. *Riyaz*—p. 296.

with them incessantly, Allivardi became victorious and triumphant. He, being aided by the Afghans, advanced against these Rajas. He raided and pillaged their tracts and carried off a large booty amounting to several lacs and settled with the Rajas, amounts of tributes, presents and imperial revenue. He, thereby, raised an immense sum. The soldiers were also enraged by the booty and the strength of his administration increased.

Zainuddin Ahmad Khan, Haibatjang, who governed at Patna, gave the government of Tirhut, to Abdul Ali Khan in addition to the collectorship of Bahar and Besoc, which he enjoyed already.¹ The whole pargana or the district of Tirhut was the jagir of Haibatjang. In order to relax his mind, and being intent on bringing that country into cultivation, he resolved to cross the Ganga and to see it by himself, intending to sojourn sometime in the same.² He took up his residence in the district of Benwar, which was inhabited by a race of ancient Rajas, settled this long series of years in that country which he now put under the direction of his friend Mehdi Nassar Khan, uncle of the Patna Historian, Gholam Hossain, in hope that it would by his means become thoroughly peopled and cultivated. He, likewise, distributed some other parts of the country on the same intent and with same injunctions to his other friends; and this was done with so much discernment, that people soon perceived a difference in its population and revenue. As he thought proper to make a long sojourn, he sent for his consort, Amina Begum.³

Lalkavi has described the battle in the following words. The battle was fought at Kandarpighat, on the bank of the Balan river, between Narendrasingh and the five thousand forces sent by Raja Rām Narāyāṇa of Patna. The force was headed by Bhikhari Mahtha and Salabat Rai.⁴ According

1. *Siyar*—(Raymond) I, 346. Abul Ali Khan was the uncle of the Patna Historian, Gholam Hussain.

2. *Ibid*—428.

3. *Ibid*—428-29.

4. *BMI*—188. Bhikhari Mahtha was the commander of this campaign, while Bakht Singh and Bakshi Salabat Rai joined it.

to Lalkavi, the main cause of the struggle was as follows—“The force was sent to take the Khas possession of Tirhut from Raja Narendrasingh” but the latter was victorious in the battle. The same poet says—“Narendrasingh had thrown off the shackles of the Nawab,” and on hearing that report Ram Nārāyaṇa had sent an expedition against him.¹ The battle began on the *Mahāṣṭamī* day. The point is how to reconstruct the story? On the basis of names, supplied by both the Hindu and Muslim sources, an attempt can be made to bring the story, within the historical purview, in the following manner.

Lalkavi supplies us with the following names—Zainuddin Ahmad Khan, Ram Nārāyaṇa, Bhikhari Mahtā, Salabat Rai (probably Salabat Jang, nephew of Allivardi), Bakht Singh (probably of the Chakwār dynasty), an ally of Allivardi and Namdar Khan. On the side of Raja Narendrasingh were Mitrajit Singh (of Tekari?), Umrao, Halaroy, Donwar kings Keso Shah and Ajit Shah of Narhan,² Ghariram, Sher-Khan and Jafar Khan. There is little doubt that these persons were contemporary personalities of eminence. The fact that Zainuddin was leading battle is indicative of the fact that it must have taken place before the death of Zainuddin in 1748 A. D.

Ram Nārāyaṇa became the deputy governor of Bihar in 1752. He was an inhabitant of Bihar, whose father was a

He further says that Raja Rāmārāyaṇa was not aware of the Firman granted to Raghava Singh—confirming his autonomous states in Tirhut and that is why he had led an expedition (*Ibid*—p. 214-16 fn.). This became known to Ramnarayana, when he was asked to show cause about the discomfiture of the imperial forces at Kandarpighat, Narendrasingh, in defence of the protection of his own rights, produced these documents. Cf. *Dohāvali*—by Shyam Kavi—p. 10.

1. रामनारायण भूपते कही मुखालिफ जाय ।

हाकिम को मिथिलेश ने दिन्ही बदल उठाया ॥ For full details—Cf. *MD* pp. 84-93, where one would find representative collection about events of this war. Cf. *BMI*-189-90; also *Khaṇḍawālakula prasasti*; Cf. Gopal Jha—*Khaṇḍawāla kula vineda*. Narendrasingh, after curbing the power of the Terai kings, founded a city, named after his father, Rāghavapur (now known as Raghapur in Saharsa district).

2. *Mithilāṇka* (Hindi section)—p. 177.

Diwan of Allivardi. Ram Nārāyaṇa served since the days of his father and was trained by Allivardi and Haibat Jang. He was subsequently appointed *Khasnavis* or private secretary to Zainuddin.¹ He fought for Zainuddin against Mustafa Khan in 1745 and was raised to the post of the Diwan in the time of Jankiram.² Ram Nārāyaṇa was a sound financier and made satisfactory arrangements of the finances of his government. He arranged for the regular collection of customs and kept an eye on the powerful Zemindārs of Bihar.³ Thus it is evident that from 1743-44 onwards, he was in the service of the Nawab and was a powerful officer. Bhikhari Mahtha, then, must have been an ordinary servant of the state, under the Subadar of Bengal, directly working under Ram Nārāyaṇa. Bhikhari Mahtha was appointed the Faujdār of Darbhanga, sometime between 1752 and 1757, that is, after this war and his assistant, there, was the brother of the son-in-law of Raja Ram Nārāyaṇa, Rai Mansaram.⁴ It may be presumed that Bhikhāri Mahtha probably got his appointment to the Faujdari of Darbhanga in recognition of his victory against Narendrasingh of Tirhut.

Bhikhari Mahtha was made the commander of the campaign by Haibat Jang. We know that Tirhut had been given as Jagir to Haibat Jang and naturally it was his interest to see that the defiant attitude of the Tirhut ruler be suppressed. Therefore he manned his forces with all able leaders of the age, who could successfully command against the strong enemy. Namdar Khan was the Zemindar of Narhat Samai, only recently brought to subjugation by Allivardi and Bakht Singh was none else but Bakhtawar Singh of the Chakwar dynasty of Begusarai. These newly subjugated chiefs helped Allivardi in his campaign against the rebellious king of Tirhut

1. *Siyar*—II, 593 (as quoted in *DA*).

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Dastur-ul-inshā*. It is a wonder that not even an incidental reference to this battle is found in any one of the authoritative books of history. Datta (*Allivardi*) has simply referred to Tirhut and Bhanwarah but says nothing about it.

4. *Maasir*—(1946).

who is said to have asserted independence. According to the Muzzaffarnama account, the Tirhut Raja had shown signs of independence in 1735. Perhaps the spirit of his father inspired him to take such a step.

Coming over to the side of the Raja of Tirhut, we learn that all the native Rajput chiefs of the land came to his help. The Donwara kings of Narhan estate, Ajit Shah and Kesava Shah placed their resources at the disposal of Narendra Singh and came personally to take the field. Narendrasingh also got sufficient help from Mahip Mitrajeet (of Tekari?). If he was the prince of Tekari, he must have nourished a grievance against Allivardi.¹ Mitrajit belonged to the Domkatar tribe of the Bhumihar Brahmanas and we find Dalel Singh, brother of Bhakht Singh Chakwar, serving under the Rājā of Tekari² somewhere near 1764. The fact is that the Chakwars had lost their independence and all hopes of restoration and had, therefore, begun to support Allivardi. Mitrajit seems to have tried his best to retrieve his lost fortune against the Nawab and that is why he threw himself heart and soul with the Raja of Darbhanga. It is an open secret that during those days the Hindus secretly wished for a change and an opportunity for throwing off their yoke.³

If the whole story is viewed in this light and construed accordingly, we can say that the account, left by Lalkavi, is to a great extent correct. So far as the names are concerned, I do not think there is any doubt about their identification, as the poet himself was an eye-witness. The battle, more probably, took place between 1745 and 1746 in the month of Aśvin (September-October), during which period we find Zainuddin staying at Bhanwara, where he received an intelligence from Allivardi. Bhaura was his Jagir, no doubt,

1. *Siyar*—I. 358 says that the Brahmin Zemindars of the district of Mog and the two Zemindars of *Turhut* Semai helped Allivardi in his conquest of Bengal. Mitrajit, if not of Tekari, might have been a local ruler of some area in Tirhut.

2. Cf. my '*History of Begusarai*' (R. C. Abhinandan Granth).

3. Hill—*Bengal*. III. 328.

and he came to this side to sojourn. It appears that the 'defeat' aspect of the Nawab's army has been ignored by the court-historian. The Raja, who once helped him against the Afghans, probably took up arms against him. The battle of Kandarpighat was decidedly other than the one, fought by Allivardi earlier. According to another writer,¹ when Bhikhari came to collect the revenue, he had to fight against Narendra Singh, in which the latter came out victorious. After the battle, Mahabat Jang renewed the grant, which was later on continued by Mir Kasim. During this period, Ahmad Khan Qureshi (1741-44) and Haji Muhamad Khan were the Faujdars of Darbhanga.² The capital of Tirhut was shifted from Bhaura to Darbhanga.³

In the present state of our knowledge, the reconstruction of the event is likely to be taken up only in the manner, it has been suggested above. The fact remains that Tirhut was attacked by the forces of Allivardi, but the details in different accounts vary. While the traditional accounts and *Prasastis* are vocal in magnifying this battle of Kandrapighat, authoritative Muslim sources simply make a reference to this episode. Zainuddin's decision to stay in Tirhut does not preclude the possibility of some sort of disturbances in the area and that might have forced him to take such a decision. Unless further evidence is forthcoming, no last word can be said on this subject.

1. *AT*—p. 34 ; Cf. *JBR*S—XLVIII, p. 41 ; III. Narendra is shown as a loyal friend of Allivardi. He is said to have received *Nankar* grants from Allivardi between 1748 and 1754 and these grants were confirmed by the later Nawabs. He is said to have visited Murshidabad and is said to have acquired rights in various places. It is believed that the battle of Kandarpighat took place after 1752 when Raja Ram Narayan became the Deputy Governor of Bihar.

2. *Mashir* (1946)—Bhikhari Mahtha came as the Faujdar of Tirhut in 1757. For traditional accounts, Cf. *BMI*—p. 215 ff.

3. According to Lalkavi, the capital of Darbhanga Raj was shifted to Darbhanga in 1782. Cf. *ST*—222. The Circumstances leading to the transfer of the capital has been well brought out by the court poet of Narendrasingh.

The Chakwāras were brave Hindu chiefs with their stronghold at Samho in Begusarai subdivision.¹ There are frequent references to their activities in the records of the East India Company.² With the decline of the Mughal empire during the 18th century, they made themselves semi-independent and defied the authority of the Subadar by withholding payment of tribute to the government.³ They laid everything that passed in the river Ganges by Monghyr under contribution and put the European settlement to annual heavy expense of a large armament to escort their boats carrying merchandise from and to Patna.⁴ In a letter, dated 27th. November, 1718, from Captain Borlace, there is a reference to fight at Couna.⁵ In an earlier letter of July 7, 1718, it was pointed out that the Chakwāras had raised their head during the vacancy of the Subaship.⁶

Messrs Edward Stephenson and Thomas Falconer wrote to the Council in Calcutta from Chaṇḍi, on their way from Calcutta to Patna, on the 27th August 1719, that they were twice attacked by the Chakwāras who were very strong and had entrenched themselves by the river side.⁷ The engagement was very hot for sometime. On July 11, 1720, the Patna officers again wrote that the Chakwāras "continue very strong."⁸ On August 2, 1720, the Council in Calcutta sent

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1. R. K. Choudhary—*G. D. College Bulletin No. 3—History of Begusarai—op. cit.*; DA-14-15 for details.
 2. Holwell—*Interesting Historical Events*—pp. 68-70.
 3. Riyaz—p. 36 and 296.
 4. Holwell—*op. cit.*
 5. WEAB—III. 84.
 6. *Ibid*—p. 50. The Calcutta Council noted that they would require a party of a hundred men to send with their boats carrying treasure for the settlement of their factory there as the Chakwāras had grown extremely powerful.
 7. *Ibid*—p. 153 (September 10).
 8. *Ibid*—p. 246.

two hundred European soldiers to guard the way to Patna as "Chakwāras are come to a great head and as there is no king obeyed, all Zemindars that can gather together any force, plunder and role where they can every power wherefore they desire.....Chakawāras can double their numbers." Two hundred Europeans under Major Richard Hunt were sent.¹ The situation continued to be in 1720.

It was further stated on March 27, 1721, that "the Chakwāras have defeated a party of horse sent by the Nawab, upon which he has since ordered 4000 horses against them, but they have not come to an engagement."² This was reported by Edward Stephenson and Samuel. It was further reported on June 26, 1721, that the "Chakwāras are very strong and they believe that it will be proper rather to augment the party of soldiers designed up this season, than diminish it."³ On September 4, the Conna Raja, being very strong, and Jungalsaw, a great Zemindar bordering upon Chakwāras, country, having joined his force with Buctore singh (Bakhtawar Singh), Raja of the Chakwāras,⁴ made an advance. The Chakwāras continued to remain very strong and the company's boats had to be carried with sufficient convoy.⁵

When Allivardi assumed office in Bihar, he drew his forces against the Chakwāras who had acquired a world wide notoriety for their marauding propensities.⁶ They had become strong enough. That they had asserted independence

1. *Ibid*—p. 255; p. 257. "The Chakwāras had gathered together 2500 horses besides a great number of Buxaries and were resolved to make an attempt on our boat." Also p. 283 for events in October 1720.

2. *Ibid*—325. the party, defeated, was sent by Nasrat Yarkhan, who was appointed to the province of Bihar in the arrangement made in December 1720. He died on June 24, 1722.

3. *Ibid*—353.

4. *Ibid*—371.

5. *Ibid*—253.

6. *Riyaz*—296.

is evident from the fact that they issued land grants to various persons under their seal and signature. Bakhtawar Singh was the king of the Chakwāras.¹ They controlled the river route from Monghyr to Patna. Allivardi succeeded in extirpating the Chakwāras. Their king was treacherously assassinated while at the same time their capital was sacked and burnt. Intimated by the examples made of several Bihar Rajas, the Chakwāras had no other alternative but to submit to Allivardi after a brief resistance.²

In former times, Purnea was called Paragana-i-Haveli.³ During the last decade of the 17th century, the writ of the Mughal empire did not run to the west beyond Kośī. Beyond it lay the territory of Birshah, Raja of Birnagar, who had a force of 15000 men and did not acknowledge the Mughal authority. To the north, the tract between the northern limits of Purnea district and the foot of Nepal proper, was the Morang country. Hence to control that area, the fort of Jalalgarh was erected, and a commadant incharge of the same was posted with wide powers.⁴ Nawab Jafar Khan conferred the office of

1. WEAB—III. 371. In 1739, Bakhtawar Singh, the Raja of Chakwāras, was living. *Riyāz* (p. 211) says—"Allivardi secured the adhesion of Mustafa Khan, Shamsair Khan, Sardar Khan, Umar Khan, Rahim Khan, Karam Khan, Sirandaz Khan, Shaikh Masum, Shaikh Jehangir Khan, Muhammad Zulfiqar Khan, Chidan Hazari, *Bakhtawar singh* and other generals and officers of the army."
2. For details—G. D. College Bulletin No. 3, *History of Begusarai*, op. cit., Salimullah—*Tarikh-i-Bengālā*, upon which is based Gladwin's—"A Narrative of the Transactions in Bengal"—p. 79; Holwell—op. cit. pp. 69-70; DA—op. cit. HSAB (Monghyr) p. 185. 221-22.
3. *Riyāz*—36. Cf. PG-35.
4. *Ibid*—The remains of the fort of Jalalgarh are seen even today. Cf. *Siyar* (Rajmond) I. 357. "Saifuddin Ali Khan. Faujdar or hereditary governor of Purnea, appointed in the time of Jafar Khan, had taken Allivardi Khan for a rebel. He was going to march against him, but no action was taken."

the Faujdar of Zilla Purnea and that of the commandant of Jalalgarh upon Saif Khan. He was deputed to chastise the Raja of Birnagar and other malcontents of that part of the country. Other inhabitants of that part of the Chakwāra tribe were refractory and used to annoy travellers. ¹

Saif Khan had control over the Pargana of Birnagar alias Dharampur, Gondwānā and also of the Mahāls and Jāgirs forming an appendage to the office of the commandant of the fort of Jalalgarh. He overran Birnagar, expelled its disloyal chief, Durjan Shah, son of Birshah, the Raja of Birnagar and brought the aforesaid Pargana under his subjection and having thoroughly chastised the other malcontents, freed the roads from all perils. ² According to Mr. J. Grant, Birnagar included all lands west of the old channel of the Kośī and was annexed ³ in 1732. By suppressing the Terai people, he raised the revenue to eighteen lacs.

There are evidences to show that the Tirhut Raja, Rāghava Singh, held sway over this part of Purnea. He is said to have defeated Bhupasingh of Nepal terai (Pachmahala—near Makmani). ⁴ Among the Raj chronicles, it is maintained that Pargana Dharampur in Purnea was under the control of the Raja of Tirhut. Rāghava Singh appointed Biru Kurmi as the revenue collector in Purnea. After few years, Biru declared himself independent and ceased to remit the revenue. A large force was sent by Rāghava Singh to subdue him, which could be achieved only after a long fight. This account is in conflict with the contemporary sources. ⁵ Though this part

1. *Ibid*—Murshid Quli conferred the office of the Faujdar and commandant of Jalalgarh on Saif Khan, making him a grant of the Pargana of Dharampur (Birnagar and Gondwān) Cf. PG—36.

2. *Ibid*—37.

3. *Fifthe Report* (1812) reprinted 1813—I. 302.

4. ST—219.

5. ST—219, fn. 4. Cf.—वीर नगर वीरसाह का बसे कौशिका तीर ।

कापति राखे कौशिका का राखे रघुवीर ॥ लालकवि
Paragana Dharampur belonged to Darbhanga Raj. Cf. PG—186
“It is the property of Maharaja of Darbhanga.”
Cf. *JBRs*—XLVIII (SV.—*History of Darbhanga Raj* by Jatashankar Jha and the *Khandavalas of Mithila* by R. K. Ghoudhary).

was conquered during the last decade of the 17th and first quarter of the 18th century, it is evident that the area must have been under the control of some important chief, prior to its acquisition by the Mughals. Birshah was, no doubt, a powerful ruler. Even the *Riyāz* does not say anything about his ancestry. His son Durjan Shah was expelled by Saif Khan. It was after this conquest of the Pargana that the Parganas of Dhaphar, Nathpur and Dharampur were transferred to the jurisdiction of Purnea from Monghyr.¹ It appears that Biru Kurmi, after asserting his independence, renamed the city as Birnagar. His audacity excited anger of both the Nawab and the Raja of Tirhut who took action against him.

Saif Khan was a very powerful man and played an important part in the history of Purnea. He was a contemporary of Allivardi. He did not lag behind in helping Allivardi in his fight against the Marathas. According to Gholam Hossain, the Patna historian, the Bengal army received help against the Marathas from Saif Khan, the Faujdar of Purnea.² He sent Sheh-din-Mahmed. The officer crossed the Ganges at Carangola (Karhagola), "attempted to join Allivardi Khan, who, he heard, would stay two or three days at Monghyr; and he was already arrived at Sultanganj, when he was set upon by the Marathas, who hearing of his small numbers, sent a detachment to overtake him. The man, without being dismayed, despatched a swift horseman to give advice to Allivardi Khan of his situation."³ Saif Khan had sent Allivardi a levy of 15000 musketeers which rendered good services in an engagement with the Marathas at Sultanganj.

Mir Muhammad Ali had crossed over from Purainiya to Monghyr to make a visit to Allivardi. As he had some connections with Saif Khan, hereditary governor of Purnea, he had recrossed over to renew his acquaintance with that

1. HSAB—XV. 222. For Birshah, also Cf. G. D. College Bulletin No. 3 (The *Chakwāras of Begusarai*).

2. *Siya* (Raymond)—II. 47.

3. *Ibid*—48. Cf. *Riyaz*—36-38.

noble man and his eldest son Nawab Bahadur.¹ Saif Khan extended an invitation to Allivardi, while the latter was returning to Murshidabad after victory. He had already received Haji Ahmed and Syed Ahmad Khan and had engaged them to accept entertainments at Carangola, which belonged to the dominion of Purnea. Allivardi rejected Saif's invitation which was renewed again when he was passing through Teliagarhi. This, too, was rejected. Saif Khan, then, returned to Purnea and died in 1162 A. H. (= 1750 A. D.).²

Saif Khan was succeeded by his son Fakhruddin Hussain Khan.³ He was weak and docile and had none of the qualities of his father. He was unable to do any responsible work. Allivardi appointed his nephew Syed Ahmad Khan to the Fauzdari of Purnea. He governed for full seven years the province of Purnea with absolute powers and all were pleased with his government.⁴ He never set out of Purnea in a military equipage but on two occasions, viz., (a) to oppose Fakhruddin Hussain Khan, and (b) to chastise Sheikh Muhammad Jalil, Zemindar of Purnea, who proved refractory. Gholam Hossain, the author, was a participant in this case.⁵ On hearing of Allivardi's weakness, the Faujdar of Purnea (Fakhruddin) thought of marching but was stopped at Malda by Syed Ahmed Khan. After suppressing the mutiny, Allivardi passed the *Cossey* and encamped on the other side and sent spies to take information. Allivardi, after expelling the Marathas, went beyond that river that goes by Badrac and Hajipur, where he encamped at a place called Bara.⁶ Fakhruddin was such a docile Nawab that he failed to put a fight against Shaukatjang, son of Syed Ahmad Khan, on the Kosi at a time when no big Zemindar was there to oppose him.⁷ Birudatt succeeded the Prime Minister Rairayan

1. *Ibid*—63.

2. *Ibid*—73-74.

3. *Ibid*.

4. *Ibid*—141.

5. *Ibid*—142.

6. *Ibid*—78-79.

7. *Ibid*—75. Syed Ahmad is also known as Saulatjang (*Ibid*—145).

Chain Rai. Biru was ordered to execute the duties without being permitted to assume the title.¹ Ahmad Khan was asked to see Allivardi and as such he came down to Carangola but Allivardi did not turn up as he fell ill.² He was succeeded by Shaukatjang³ in 1756-57.

The second battle of Panipat in 1556 had given a shattering blow to the Afghan power in India and since then they had no centre of political cohesion. Their descendants had settled peacefully in Bihar, *The Darbhanga* Assam, Orissa, U. P. and Delhi and had *Afghans* loyally served the Mughals. Aurangzeb's policy had disaffected the Afgans and the Pathans from Kabul to Lahore with the disastrous results for the Mughal army. They had remained restive and rebellious and had regarded other Muslims as interlopers. They had taken up an almost national attitude by putting themselves in opposition to every such alien power. The Afgan bid for supremacy was a potent factor in the history of India in the 17th century.⁴

During the reign of Muhammad Shah, they again began to think of their restoration and the invasion of Nadir Shah gave a fillip to their movement.⁵ The early settlers were further replenished by a fresh wave of Afgan migration.⁶ There is no doubt that they possessed superb military qualities, which during the fall of the Mughal empire, proved superior to those of the Mughals. Their attachment to their own clans was one of the strongest factors of their unity and their courage and vindictive character have been well spoken of by Gholam Hossain.⁷ After the Nawab had become practically independent of Delhi, their army, in the

1. *Ibid*—76.

2. *Ibid*—108. Gholam Hossain went beyond Carangola.

3. *PG*—p. 40. Syed Ahmad died in 1756-57 and lies buried in a garden called Zafribag.

4. *DA*—142-43.

5. *SJME*—II. 41-43.

6. *Ibid*—43-45.

7. *Siyar*—II. 531.

Suba of Bengal, was filled entirely with the Afgans, by far the most numerous and efficient element. They were the soul of the army of Allivardi in Bihar, with whose help, he had succeeded not only in suppressing the rebel Zemindars of Bihar but also in stabilising his power in his early years.

The Afgan strength was a thing to be reckoned with. Gholam Mustafa Hossain was the foremost of the Afgans and his personal achievement in defeating the Marathas had raised him almost to a position of equality with Allivardi. We have seen above the services rendered to Allivardi by Abul Karim Khan. Even in matters of administration, Gholam Mustafa was one of the trusted counsellors of Allivardi.¹ All authorities are unanimous on this point that Mustafa was a man of extremely high ambition and his consecutive success over the Marathas made him a bit more confident of his power.² Allivardi had promised him the governorship of Bihar from which he later on shrank. This was the cause of friction between Allivardi and the Afgans.³ Mustafa was asked to execute Bhaskar in which he succeeded but Allivardi failed to keep his promise. Naturally, therefore, the Afgans, who had left no stone unturned to secure victory for Allivardi, were now enraged at his latest behaviour. Allivardi's attempt to pacify Mustafa was of no avail.⁴ Mustafa did not attend his court since February 1745.

Mustafa Khan resigned Nawab's service with a body of 9000 Afgan horsemen and a powerful infantry. He demanded not only the deputy governorship of Bihar but also the arrear pay of his soldiers amounting to 17 lacs. The amount was immediately paid⁵ but not the deputy governorship. Mustafa Khan Babarjang had become an object of envy to the world. Shamsair Khan and Sardar Khan,⁶ who were discontented

1. *Yusuf*—folio 50 (Quoted in DA-120).

2. *Siyar*—II. 531.

3. *SJME*—II. 112-13.

4. *Siyar*—II. 532.

5. *Ibid*—533.

6. *Muzaffarnāma-BPP*—LXVII. p. 12. Mustafa Khan, formerly a servant of Raja Sunder Singh, was taken with his 35 troopers into

with his ascendancy, secretly deceived him. It was at their instigation that Mustafa demanded the deputy governorship of Bihar after removing Haibatjang. As that was not possible, his feeling was aggravated.¹ Shamsair Khan and Sardar Khan could not come to Mustafa's side, as they were won over by Allivardi.

Mustafa left Allivardi. He drew up a manifesto for uniting all the Afgan Sardars with a view to ousting Allivardi from governorship. Thus owing to the instigation of mischievous persons, another ambition was formed in his heart. He began to induce the Afgans to affix their seals to his proposal. When Shamsair and Sardar Khan brought up the manifesto to Umar Khan for him to seal it, Umar, out of loyalty tore the paper and abused them even upto Sher Khan.² Shamsair and Sardar, out of precaution, lest the anger of Allivardi should ruin the entire Afgan tribe, came back to their homes in silence; their real intention which was to give Babarjang a bad name, was not fulfilled.³ The Afgan disunion was a good stroke of fortune for Allivardi, who dismissed Babarjang.⁴

Babarjang's intentions were now clear. The disappointed general now began to plan for the mastery over the province of Bihar by wresting it from Zainuddin. He had become hopeless of getting the cooperation of other Afgans. He could not carry out the plan, in Murshidabad, that he had formed in his mind. Therefore he set out for Patna with a large army.⁵ When Allivardi learnt of the hostile intentions of Babarjang and his having started for Patna

the service of Allivardi and day by day, received such promotion that he reached the highest rank and became the master of 4000 troopers with the title of Babarjang. (*BPP*—LXVI—p. 70).

1. *Ibid*—p. 12.

2. *Ibid*—12.

3. *Ibid*—12.

4. *Ibid*—12. Babarjang had already offered his resignation. Through the help of Jagat Seth, he succeeded in paying off the dues (Nine lacs) and sent him back to his home with all honours.

5. *Ibid*—p. 12 Cf. *Siyar* (Raymond) I. 445.

in a fighting ¹ mood, he wrote to Haibatjang, in no way, to oppose him. ² On his way Mustafa collected elephants and guns at Rajmahal and began to show defiant attitude. ³ He was joined by his nephew, Abdul Rasul Khan, the deputy governor of Orissa. ⁴ On reaching Monghyr, Mustafa besieged the fort⁵ and captured Nawab's officer Hamid Beg with a good deal of ammunitions. With 15000 cavalry he now marched to Patna.

The position at the time was really very critical when Babarjang was on his way to Azimabad. The Maratha menace was looming large while a good number of fighting Afgan soldiers had left Nawab's cause. In all 1400 troopers were present with the Nawab, while Babarjang was at the head of 20,000, ⁶ Zainuddin Haibatjang was at that time staying in the Bhuara (Bhaura) Mahal of Sarkar Tirhut. ⁷ Allivardi sent a secret letter through a trusted messenger ordering to his nephew to come to him by the northern shore of the Ganges and to approach Bengal by the Purainia side, as he intended to join him on the other side of the Ganges, and to make consultations with him about what was to be done. ⁸

Haibatjang was advised not to oppose Babarjang. Haibatjang, immediately after receiving the letter, replied in anger—"If I do not oppose his designs and do not bring this wanderer in the wrong path to the right path, what should I do? I shall then have to withdraw my hand from Azimabad and make a gift of this province to this man.

1. *Ibid*—p. 12.

2. *Ibid*—p. 13.

3. *Siyar*—II. 534 (as quoted in *DA*).

4. *Ibid* (Raymond) I. 452.

5. *Ibid*—I. 453. Abdul Rasul was killed outright by a stone that fell upon him. Mustafa severely felt the heavy blow for Abdul Rasul was his right hand man and an officer of tried valour and conduct. For Monghyr fort, consult *BPP* of 1924.

6. *Ibid*—p. 13.

7. *Ibid*—p. 13. Cf. *Siyar*—(Raymod) I. 446.

8. *Siyar* (Raymond) I. 445-446.

That can not be done by this slave." ¹ When Allivardi learnt of Haibatjang's intention to fight Babarjang, he, again and again, hurriedly wrote to him—"Do not desire to fight Babarjang who is carrying European manned artillery with him. You too know his personal bravery. If, inspite of this, you insist on resisting him, remain on the defensive till I arrive with my army. Do not fight except from trenches." ²

Allivardi was anxious for Zainuddin and that is why he wrote to him twice to take necessary steps for his protection. His only advice was to avoid clash with the Afgan army. Ignoring the advice of his uncle Zainuddin moved from Tirhut and arrived at Azimabad ³ and wanted to put a resistance against the enemy. Even his officers advised him to follow the advice of his uncle. All these sound counsels fell on deaf ears and Zainuddin did not budge an inch from his determination of opposing and exterminating the enemy. As directed by Allivardi, he entrenched himself in the garden of Jafar Khan, which is close to Patna. ⁴

After entrenching himself in Jafar Khan's garden, he took measures for the defence of the city. He sent out letters on all sides ⁵ calling upon brave men to his side and join the fight. Orders were given at the same time to a number of persons of note, such as, Ahmad Khan Qureshi, Shah Jehan Yar, Shah Ahmad Deen, Shah Amaroolah, Karam Khan, Mehta Jaswant, Raja Kryetchand, Raja Ram Narain, and other Hindu Commanders, to raise forces. The Zemindars of the province were sent for, and those that had connections with the governor or were attached to his person, were ordered to attend with their troops. Raja Sundersingh, Kamgar Khan, Bishensingh of Seres-Cotomba, Pahalwansing and Surtursingh of Sasaram and Chainpur, Buhrutsingh of Arval, ⁶ Ajit Shah

1. BPP—LXVII. p. 13.

2. *Ibid*—13.

3. *Ibid*—13 Cf. *Styar* (Raymond) I. 447.

4. *Ibid*—13.

5. *Ibid*—13.

6. *Styar*—(Raymond) I. 448.

and Kesho Shah of Narhan and Narendrasingh of Darbhanga joined with their forces against the Afgans. ¹ Labourers from all parts of the province were engaged. The command of the army was divided into several brigades, headed by Abdul Ali Khan, the Faujdar of Tirhut (and uncle of Gholam Hossain), Ahmad Khan Quereshi, Raja Kryetchand, Ram Narain, Khādim Hussain Khan, Nasir Ali Khan. ²

Babarjang slew persons, plundered and desolated all places, towns and villages, on his way, took some pieces of artillery and public money from Rajmahal by force and advanced. ³ When he reached Monghyr, he wished to capture it. Hasan Beg Khan, the Qilādār, offered opposition like a brave man. The troops of Babarjang made their way to the wall inspite of the fire from the fort, entered and took possession of it and made the Qilādār with his three sons prisoner. Rasul Khan was killed. ⁴

When Haibatjang heard that Babarjang had seized Monghyr fort and was marching towards Patna, he, in compliance with Allivardi's instruction to avoid Babarjang opposing as far as possible, sent Mir Murtaza and Askar Khan as ambassadors to him to say—"How you have behaved to Allivardi Khan and he to you, you know and he knows. I am powerless and free from guilt in this matter. I am ready to pay you two lacks of rupees for the expenses of your journey and such materials as you desire" ⁵ On receiving this message, Babarjang rudely replied—"It is not a time for letters and messages. My two-edged sword has done and will do my work." Haibatjang, after hearing the result of this meeting, turned to strengthening his trenches even more than before, and remained ready for fighting. ⁶

When Mustafa Khan arrived within six *kos* of his trenches, Haibatjang sent Haji Alam Khan to sue for peace. Babar-

1. BMI—184. *Supra* (*Kandarpighat*).

2. *Siyar* (Raymond) I, 448.

3. BPP—LXVII, 13.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid*—13.

jang gave the insolent reply—"When an army of the heretics (Shias) and a force of the Hindus confront me, it is my duty to fight the heretics first."¹ They passed the entire night in watchfulness. In the morning of Thursday, 18th. Safar 1158 (= 14th. March, 1745), Mustafa Khan was defeated in the battle.² Nearly three hundred of his noted chiefs and soldiers were slain. Muskets were incessantly fired on the troops of the enemies of the faith. The Afgans of his clan, on seeing Babarjang's condition, withdrew their hands from fighting, seized the bridle of Mustafa's elephant, left the trenches and took to flight. The victorious Haibatjang advanced to the front of the trenches and ordered the damaged wall to be repaired. He returned to his own tent and offered prayer in humility to god.³

Babarjang, for one week, remained encamped in front of the trenches and continually firing his artillery. Next week, on the 21st of March 1745, he again rode out and with the speed of thunder and wind forced his way into the trenches, leaving a *dasta* of six troops to face the trenches of Ahmad Khan and Sheikh Jahan Yār. When he arrived opposite Haibatjang, seeing the men of the trenches to be dispersed and hard pressed, he fearlessly ran towards Haibatjang. Diwan Kiratchand and Maharaj Ram Nārāyaṇa arrived with their guns and opposed his advance. By chance a musket bullet entered the corner of his eye and blinded him, so he fled away to his tent.⁴ Haibatjang returned to his tent with victory and sent a report of it to Allivardi who had arrived within two day's march of time.⁵ The Afgans were thus defeated and compelled to retire, by the time Allivardi arrived near Patna.

1. *Ibid*—13, for details.

2. *Ibid*—14.

3. *Ibid*—14.

4. *Ibid*—p. 14. The author of *Muzaffarnāmā*, Karam Ali, had also heard it said that the bullet had hit him in his first assault.

5. *Ibid*—p. 15, for details.

After four months, Babarjang, eager to win name and fame, assembled another army and acquired greater power than before. He set out for Patna. Haibatjang issued from the city to meet him on the way. The two armies met together on the bank of Son. An obstinate battle was fought in which Haibatjang's ranks were broken, inspite of the heavy shower of fire from his artillery and muskets. Khadim Hussain Khan, the daroga of the *khaskardar* (porters of the rulers' own weapons) fell down wounded from his horse. Taking advantage of the confusion, Babarjang advanced most bravely. There was a hot contest between Babarjang and Haibatjang. ¹ It was during this period of contest that Allivardi had to leave the place immediately as Raghuji Bhonsle had invaded Bengal at the incitation of Mustafa Khan. ² Afgans had sought help from the Marathas. ³ The treachery of the Afgans in the Bengal army was fomented by persons, connected with Raghuji. The Afgans were promised rupees two lacs more and the Faujdari of Darbhanga, over and above, a command of 12000 horses. ⁴ The undaunted leader, Mustafa, having an alliance with Udwantsingh Ujjainia, Zemindar of Shahabad (and hostile to Zainuddin), ⁵ was still pulling on well. Abdul Ali Khan took a bold stand and Raham Khan, Karam Khan and Mahdi Nisar Khan remained engaged in fighting. Mustafa Khan was killed. ⁶

Haibatjang, gaining the victory, reported it to Allivardi. Haibatjang, inspite of such a victory, could not pursue the army and plunder the property of Babarjang, but after the leaderless army had crossed the Ganges, he returned to his seat and rewarded his soldiers who had fought so well. ⁷

1. *Ibid*—p. 15.

2. *Asashir*—(1946) Cf. *Siyar*—II, 543 (DA)—Cf. *BPP*—LXVII. 16-17.

3. *Siyar*—(Raymond) II, 7.

4. *Ibid*—II, 16.

5. *Ibid*—(DA) II, 543.

6. *BPP*—LXVII. 15. Cf. *Siyar* II, (DA)—545. The Afgans fled under the leadership of Mustafa's son Murtaza.

7. *BPP*—LXVII. 15.

The first victory over the Afgans did not make the road clear for Allivardi. The defeated Afgans, noted for their clanish and vindictive character, appealed to Raghuji Bhonsle for help¹ in September, 1745, who supported the Afgans as a measure against Allivardi. In November 1745, Allivardi was deprived of the help of Afgan generals, like Shamsair Khan and Sardar Khan, who entered into agreement with Raghuji Bhonsle to share the government of Bengal with him against Allivardi. In June 1746, they were dismissed by Allivardi. With their six thousand men they returned to Darbhanga. Even their dismissal did not mean the end of the Afgan trouble in Bihar.

Zainuddin Haibatjang now began to conceive the scheme of becoming independent.² He now wanted to sieze the *masnad* of Bengal. When Shamshair Khan and Sardar Khan reached their homes, situated in Mahal Darbhanga, Haibatjang whose brain was filled with foolish ambition, considering them to be very brave soldiers, incited them to come to him and enter his service. For the fulfilment of his long cherished ambition he wanted to enlist the Darbhanga Afgans. He wrote to Allivardi that so many able-bodied and expert soldiers, fretting idly in home at Darbhanga, with no means of livelihood in sight of them, constituted a formidable menace to the peace of this province and suggested to take them in service. He further suggested that it would not be possible to drive them out of the province. For their maintenance he wanted expense from the Murshidābād treasury. Allivardi reluctantly consented.

According to the *Muzzaffarnama*, Both Allivardi and Haji Sahib dissuaded him. It had, however, no effect on him and he sent his trusted courtier, Askar Khan, to inspect the condition and learn the wishes of these generals. Zainuddin

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1. *Mashir* (1946) Cf. *Siyar*—II, 545 (DA) Shamshair and Sardar were the greatest Afgan generals after Mustafa Khan Babarjang. Cf. *Siyar* (Raymond) II, 29. They now began to enlist vast numbers of their own countrymen.
 2. *Siyar* (Raymond)—II, 29-30.

Haibatjang opened the negotiation.¹ He invited them to come and meet him. They wanted to know the terms of payment. Haibatjang sent Aga Azimai (a paymaster of Saif Khan, Governor of Purnea, till 1748), Taqi Quli Khan and Askar Khan to the Afgans at Darbhanga, inviting them to come to Patna for service. Shamshair Khan, Murad Khan and Sardar Khan and Bakshi Bahelia left Darbhanga and reached Hajipur in December² 1747. Haibatjang first went in a boat to see them. For fifteen days, negotiations were carried on there. Haibatjang ordered them to cross over to Patna. They, having placed the *Quran* on their hands, had taken the oath of fidelity and Haibatjang was simply enchanted by their adhesion to him. They, with ten or twelve thousand horse and foot, crossed the river and alighted in Jafar Khan's garden, as advised by the governor,³ in January 1748.

Sabitjang, who was always planning as to how to accomplish futile ambitions, considering the arrival of these wretches as favourable to the success of his designs, sent a letter by a footman, that first Haibatjang should be slain at an interview and thereafter the destruction of Allivardi would be easy.⁴ To create confidence among the Afgans that none of his soldiers would be present in the Hall of Audience, only few courtiers were allowed to be present there. On the day of the interview, Haibatjang sat on his masnad in composure of mind for reassuring their villains. The Afgans formed three corps : (i) (ii) Sardar Khan and the Bakshi of the Babelias stood with one *dasta* outside the fort, (iii) Murad Sher Khan with two thousand men entered the Hall of the forty pillars on the plea of interviewing, and finding the field clear, slew Haibatjang. Haji Sahib was tortured to death.⁵ Confusion

1. *Ibid*—30. Cf. *Ibid* (D. A.)—II, 558. For details Cf. *BPP*—LXVII, 17 ff.

2. *Siyar* (Raymond)—II, 30-1.

3. *BPP*—LXVII—17.

4. *Ibid*.

5. *Ibid*—17 Cf. *Siyar* (Raymond) II, 33. Here the Afgans simply took revenge of Roshan Khan Terahi's brutal assassination on mere suspicion by Haibatjang.

followed murder and scant courtesy was shown to the family members of the deceased. Anarchy was let loose and the agents of the Afgans oppressed and squeezed the people beyond limit.¹

The Afgans usurped all powers and became the masters of Patna and continued to rule the city for about three months. From January to April 1748, Bihar tasted the Afgan rule in its naked form.² The news of the rise of a new Afgan dynasty in Afganistan emboldened them.³ The effects of the independent Afgan rule in Bihar were devastating. They found seventy lacs of rupees in cash, vast quantity of jewels, bullions, etc., and various amounts from various sources. They gave "*the world an instance of the incompatibility of wickedness with happiness.*"⁴ Indiscriminate plundering continued and there was no restraint on lawlessness. Gholam Hossain says—"Being restrained by no discipline,..... not a day passed without some houses undergoing all horrors of violence and defilement.....very few had the fortune to escape the infamous practices of that nation of miscreants."⁵ According to Salimullah, "the Afgans surrounded the houses of the rich men and plundered these. The city fell prey to their ravages and the signs of Domesday came."⁶

They looted the city to their capacity and their atrocities reminded one of the misdeeds of Timur, Nadir and Abdali. There was no such thing as respect for honour and wealth with the Afgans. To them wealth was a necessity also if we view them as enemies of Allivardi. Shamsair Khan knew well that he would have to face Allivardi today or tomorrow, and, therefore, he began to increase his army. The only advantageous point in favour of Shaimshair was that practically the whole of Northern India was infested with the

1. *Ibid*—17. for details.

2. *Mashir* (1946).

3. *Siyar* II. 561 (*DA*)—Also (Raymond) II. 39.

4. Parker—*The War in India*—p. 28.

5. *Siyar*—II. 562 (*DA*).

6. *Tarikh-i-Bengal*—Folio. 129 A (quoted in *DA*).

Afgans and that might have emboldened the new Afgan state in Bihar, based on violence and treachery, to make a bid for power by squeezing wealth out of the people of this province. Even the foreign factor's were not spared. In 1748, the Afgans plundered the Dutch Factory and stores at Fatuha and various other materials to the tune of Rupees sixty five thousands.¹

In no time they had 40,000 cavalry and the same number of infantry.² They had the famous Patna artillery at their disposal and they were further re-inforced by the Marathas. The news of Haibatjang's murder had almost upset Allivardi and he proceeded, with determination, to teach them a lesson. Allivardi marched by Rajmahal, Bhagalpur and Monghyr route. While the Bengal army was on its march, Mir Habib emerged all at once at Bhagalpur, and was now on the little river of Champanagar. He occasioned much disorder and tumult amongst the people, after which, he retreated with his booty. This did not prevent Allivardi from continuing his journey to Monghyr where he was met by Raja Sunder singh and Kamgar Khan.³ The governor of Purnea Saif Khan sent 1500 men under Sheikh Din Muhammad, who joined him on the way near Sultanjang.⁴ He also promised *chauth* to Peshwa Balaji Rao in return for assistance against the Afgans.

1. K. K. Datta—'Situation of the Dutch in Bengal' BPP—XLIII—p. 76 ff. (1932) (1740-1756). "The Dutch were the greatest commercial rivals of the English during this period, and very often came into conflict with them on the question Salt-petre trade at Patna and Chapra. In 1744, Mr. Drabbe, the Dutch chief at Patna, agreed to purchase Saltpetre and to give the English a certain proportion of it at 3/4/- only per maund. Next year Deepchand offered at the Nawab's Darbar Rs. 25000/- to oblige Europeans to buy solely of him,
2. *Siyar*—II. 573, for details (DA).
3. *Siyar* (Raymond)—II. 49. Cf. BPP—LXVII. p. 18.
4. *Ibid*—48. As the report of Allivardi's march for conquest spread, the Purnea Faujdar, Saif Khan, in fear lest Nawab's army should march into Purnea, as a measure of precaution sent a strong force to the Ganges side,

News reached Allivardi that the two Afgans leaders, Shamshair Khan and Sardar Khan, with 50,000 countrymen had encamped at the town of Barh. It was at this time that Mir Habib and Janoji arrived near Azimabad and sent for the two Afgan generals. They bestowed rich *Qhyalatas* on Shamshair Khan and his colleague. Mir Habib returned the visit¹ and was accompanied by Mirza Muhammad Saleh and Mohan Singh. Allivardi, with his soldiers, reached Barh where Shamshair Khan, with Maratha help, had reached to oppose him. Shamsair had left Ahmad Khan Quereshi in-charge of Patna. The famous battle between the two commenced near Ranisarai, near Monghyr, eight miles west of Barh.² Sardar Khan, the greatest Afgan general, was killed.³ Patna was recovered. The Afgans were severely defeated and crushed. Dost Muhammad Khan severed the head of Murad Sher Khan. Mirza Habib Beg cut off the head of Shamsair Khan and flung it at Allivardi's feet.⁴ The death of the topmost leaders of the Afgan put them into confusion and Allivardi reached Patna in a victorious mood.

Allivardi sent trusted officers and other persons of his household to confiscate and bring away the property which that ungrateful nation had left at Darbhanga. The Zemindara of Bettia reported that the families of Sardar Khan and Shamshair Khnn had been lodged with him by their owners.⁵ It must be said to the credit of Allivardi that he did not ill-treat the women and children of the Afgan Sardārs but granted some villages for the subsistence of these widows.⁶ Siraj-ud-daullah⁷ wanted to take into his harem the daughter of Shamshair Khan hence Allivardi called her his own daughter and treated her as such. Trusted persons were sent to bring away

1. *Ibid*—50.

2. *Ibid*—53. ff. Cf. *Muzzaffarnāma*, BPP-LXVII, pp. 17-19, where the name of the battle field is *Sarai Rani*.

3. *Ibid*—Cf. BPP—*op. cit.*

4. BPP—*op. cit.* p. 19.

5. *Siyar*—(Raymond)—II. 58.

6. BPP—*op. cit.* 19.

7. *Ibid.*

the family of Shamsair Khan and others. In order to give those persons more weight and also to keep the Zemindar in awe, Allivardi himself crossed the Ganga, and under pretence of hunting, he advanced two or three days' journey towards Bettia, after having left the care of the city to his son-in-law, Syed Ahmad Khan. The Zemindar of Bettia delivered to the envoy the consort and daughters of Shamsair Khan.¹ Allivardi got the daughter of Shamsair Khan married and dismissed his family members, at their own request, to Darbhanga where by his order they were complemented with several villages that furnished amply to their subsistence.² Allivardi spent about 40 or 45 days in this part.³ He stayed at Patna for about six months and returned to Murshidabad in 1748. Thus the Afghan bid for supremacy in Bihar was nipped in the bud and their hope of building an Afghan state was gone for ever.

We shall now proceed with the narrative of the important events during Allivardi's regime in Bihar. On March 13, 1739, Shujauddin died. Bihar had been added to the Suba of Bengal in 1733 by Muhammad Shah and Shujauddin was the Subadar of three provinces (Bengal, Bihar and Orissa). Sarfaraj, the son of Shujauddin, became the governor. He was weak and inefficient. Allivardi was in search of opportunity to capture the Bengal *Masnad* and before doing so, he tested the fidelity of all his officers at an assembly called by him. Both Hindus and Muslims were taken into confidence.⁴ The important officials who attended were Mustafa Khan, Shamsair Khan, Sardar Khan, Umar Khan, Raham Khan, Shaikh Masum, Sheikh Jehangir, Bakhtawar Singh,⁵ Zulfiquar Khan,

1. *Siyar* (Raymond)—II. 58.

2. *Ibid*—60-61. This treatment with the family members of Shamsair was just the opposite, meted out to his family members by Shamsair.

3. *Ibid*—63. Cf. *BPP—op. cit.* p. 19 for details.

4. *Siyar*—II. 276.

5. Decidedly, he was the Chakwar king of Begusarai.

Chedan Hazari and others.¹ All agreed to help him against Sarfaraz.² Sarfaraz was finished.

In one of his marches, Allivardi halted at Suryagarha,³ where in 1557 a decisive battle had taken place between Bahadur Shah of Bengal and Muhammad Shah Adili. Maulanagar,⁴ half a mile, east of Suryagarha, was once the seat of a saint named Shah Nazimuddin Ali. He was visited by Allivardi Khan, when he was marching northwards past Suryagarha on one of his frequent expeditions. Allivardi begged for success in his campaign. Allivardi, returning successful, made a grant of two Mahals, Pargana Abhaipur and Taluk Mustafanagar. Haider Ali Khan, who commanded Allivardi's artillery, made an application to the prince for his bestowing on that holy man the small Pargana of Kajra. Shah-Mahmed-mah in Ballia, a dependency of Monghyr, was related to Shah Moula of Suryagarha.⁵

Allivardi had been severely reproached, by saint Shah Haider of Bhagalpur, for the murder of Sarfaraz. Shah Haider's son, Yessen Khan, was much esteemed by Allivardi. He was the Faujdar of Bhagalpur. He had stopped pension to Bhagalpur people except Shah Jafri. When Jafri refused to accept the pension on condition that he would not accept unless all others were paid, Allivardi personally intervened. He asked Yessen Khan to restore the pension to all. Jafri died at Monghyr during the time of Mirkasim.⁶

1. *Riyaz*—311.

2. *DA*—pp. 22-38 for various details.

3. *MG*—263. (old edition)

4. *Ibid*—230-31.

5. *Siyar* (Raymond) II-175.

6. *Ibid*—171-174. At the time of Siraj's nuptial, a Mussalman had killed a consecrated Bull. His hands were cut off by order of a Hindu officer, Abhiram, at Bhagalpur, as representative of Ataulah Khan, the Faujdar, who was then absent. Jafari joined the issue with injured and a general sedition arose. Shamsair and Sardar, then out of service, were there. They seemed to join the insurgents.

The battle of Giria brought the *masnad* of Bengal within his easy grasp and he ultimately became the Nawab of the Bengal *Suba*. Allivardi's youngest nephew Zainuddin, who married his daughter Amina Begam (mother of Sirajuddaulah) became the Deputy governor of Bihar. Abul Ali Khan, the maternal uncle of the Patna historian Gholam Hossain, became the Faujdar of Tirhut. He was a cousin of Allivardi. He had been placed in charge of Tirhut by Zainuddin.¹ Through his untiring zeal and undaunted efforts, Allivardi stabilised his position in Tirhut and Bihar. His governorship forms an important landmark in the history of the Suba and all authorities agree that he was one of the ablest governors Bengal had ever known. His ability is proved by the methods which he adopted in clearing out his difficulties, which were not few and far between. Within the limited period of his rule, not free from troubles, he made the *masnad* of Bengal, worth coveting.

By the time, Allivardi was in a position to stabilise himself in the *Suba* of Bengal there occurred another catastrophe which called for his immediate attention. The Marathas were aspiring to build up an Empire on the ruins of the Mughal empire and, with this end in view, they began to expand in different parts of India. The first Maratha invasion of Bengal took place in 1742. It is not actually known as to what part did Tirhut play in this great drama of utmost importance. Tirhut was also hard hit by this devastating invasion and the entire economic life was disturbed for the time being. With the whole of Bihar, Tirhut also suffered.

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1. For details DA—38 ff; SHB-II. 442 ff. According to Mashir (1946), one Ahmad Khan Qureshi was the Faujdar of Darbhanga between 1741-44 A. D. There is, no doubt, that he was one of the servants of Jainuddin and had helped Allivardi against Raja Sundar Singh. One such man figures prominently during the time of Afgan insurrection and other occasions. One Ahmad Khan Qureshi was the Diwan of Shamshair Khan. Vide DA-138,

The devastating nature of their campaign is evident from a number of contemporary sources.¹

The situation was not wholly favourable in Bihar. At that very time, the Bhojpur Zemindars were in revolt and Zainuddin was in a rather embarrassed situation. Allivardi appealed to the Delhi Emperor for help but all to no purpose. He wrote to his deputies at Patna and Purnea to help him against the Marathas. With their active cooperation Allivardi succeeded in facing these problems. During the course of this campaign, he recovered the affection of the Afgans. Mustafa Khan, Shamsair Khan and Sardar Khan, helped Allivardi against the Marathas.² The Faujdar of Purnea placed sufficient materials at the disposal of the Nawab.

The Marathas passed through Monghyr and Bhagalpur. The inhabitants of these places suffered a good deal and a good number of people had fled to the other side of the Ganga.³ During this period Hedayat Ali Khan, father of Gholam Hossain, sent his family on the other side of the Ganga,⁴ which was comparatively safer. The singular resolution of a lady at Bhagalpur is remarkable. She defended her quarters against the Marathas with singular determination. Balaji was pleased at her behaviour and gave her all safety.⁵ Due to the efforts of Mustafa Khan, Allivardi's victory over the Marathas became sure. This enabled Mustafa to become more vigorous and he developed a sense of superiority⁶ that led to the famous contest between the Nawab and the Afgans in which victory smiled on the former.

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1. DA—56 ff. An article by the same author in the *PAIOC*-1930 (Patna) and *JIH*-1930; Cf. *The Maharājāśāpurāṇa* (Gangaram). Lines 501-2. published *VSPP*-1313 V. S. Part IV; Cf. *Maasir* (1946); Cf. *Siyar* (DA)—II. 516.
 2. *Siyar* (Raymond) I. 384-85.
 3. *Ibid*—418.
 4. *Ibid*—415.
 5. *Ibid*—418.
 6. *Ibid*—437-39. *Supra*—*Darbhanga Afgans*.

Allivardi died on the 10th of April 1756. For a long period before his death, Allivardi had been suffering from acute dropsy and his demise had been expected years before it occurred. Saulatjang, calculating on this contingency, had devoted resources of his wealthy province to equipping a large army, with which he hoped to wrest the sovereign power from any other of the dependants of the Nawab.

When Syed Ahmad Khan was the Faujdar of Purnea, Sirajuddaullah had revolted and was in flight.¹ Allivardi's letter to Siraj was handed over to him at Bhagalpur.² He had arrived at Ghiyaspur.³ After a short conference, Mehdi Nassar Khan despatched letters to the officers residing at Darbhanga, and on the northern shore of the Ganga inciting them under great promise to come over and join Sirajuddaullah.⁴

Saulatjang handed down his undiminished pretensions to his successor, Shaukatjang. To pacify the formidable claim and to buy off practically, Allivardi had bestowed the whole of Purnea, in perpetual Jagir, on Shaukatjang. According to Gholam Hossain, it had been decreed that the guilty race of Allivardi should be deprived of the vast dominions, which had cost so much crime and labour to build up, and that Providence had assigned the Government to the hands of two young men, Shaukatjang and Siraj, equally vain, cruel and incapable. Both were equally successful in giving offence to the old servants and officers and by their perverse conduct entirely alienated the affection of the people. When Siraj dismissed his officers including Mir Jafar, the Bakshi, the latter came to the court of Shaukatjang and urged him to sieze the masnad of Bengal.

1. *Ibid*—II. 96.

2. *Ibid*—II. 95.

3. *Ibid*—II. 97.

4. *Ibid*—II. 98.

The death of Allivardi, at the age of 80, created a void in the political life of the *Suba*. The old sobriety was gone and screw of the political machinery went loose. Siraj and his cousin Shaukatjang stood as rivals for the *masnad* of Bengal. Shaukat lived far away in Purnea. Siraj's greatest enemy was his mother's eldest sister, Ghasiti Begam. Siraj became the Nawab in a "house divided against itself, with a hostile fraction in the army and a disaffected subject population."¹ Ghasiti Begam was placed in confinement and insulted. Fresh administrative

arrangements were made. Shaukatjang, the *Shaukatjang* governor of Purnea, refused to acknowledge the authority of Siraj and was in intrigue with his enemies. He was a wooden king that could neither think nor act by himself.² He came under the influence of two bad persons. He obtained from Ghaziuddin, the Wazir of Alamgir II, a *Firman*, bestowing on him the Subādārī of the lower provinces, on condition of forwarding one crore of rupees annually.³ This patent made him arrogant.

An important officer, Muhammad Syed Khan, was put under confinement. A few days later, his wife and family were ordered to attend him, and thirty rupees, being put in his hand, to bear his charges, he was placed in a boat and sent on the other side of the Kosi towards Birnagar and left to himself. Shaukat now assumed a higher tone of voice with his commanders.⁴ Mir Mālī Khan was made the Faujdar of Sirniya, Nawabganj and other places.⁵ The city of Purnea was full of conventicles⁶ and his court was prey to mistrust. It was reported that Col. Lally was invited by Siraj to Murshidabad. He repaired from Birnagar to that capital.⁷

1. *SHB*—II. 470.

2. *Styar*—(Raymond) II. 194.

3. *Ibid*—197—Shaukat was inspired by Mir Jafar.

4. *Ibid*—199.

5. *Ibid*—200.

6. *Ibid*—201.

7. *Ibid*—203.

Siraj was determined to put an end to Shaukat's pretensions but could not attack on account of the presence of English in Calcutta. As a prelude to test the loyalty of Shaukatjang, Siraj appointed Rasbehari, younger brother of Raja Durlabhrām, to the Faujdari of Gondwāna and Birnagar in Purnea, gave him patents of it, and sent him to take possession, entrusting him at the same time with a letter for Shaukatjang.¹ The *Dastur-ul-Imlā*, a collection of letters of historical interest, throws some light upon the Purnea expedition of Siraj against his first cousin. From the *Dastur*, we learn, "Shaukatjang, the Naib of Purnea, has at the instigation of impudent counsellors, deviated from the path of allegiance, and being puffed with pride, has thrown aside the claims of kinship and fraternal relation."² Shaukatjang was surprised at the letter of Siraj and replied with the consent of Gholam Hossain. Soon Shaukat changed his mind and sent a harsh letter through the messenger to Rasbehari to be handed over to Siraj purporting his claim to the masnad of Bengal according to the patent of the Wazir.³

Siraj was shocked to go through the contents of his letter. He resolved to march in person and chastise Shaukat. Siraj ordered Ram Nārāyaṇa to fall upon his side with the forces of Azimābād which was double the forces of Purainia.⁴ According to the *Dastur* (*Imlā* 7B), Ram Nārāyaṇa enjoined upon the officials of the Parganas, on the other side of the river, to be careful and cautious about the coming and going of the troops and not to allow a single person to march to the aid of Shaukatjang, nor to leave the least chance for any one of the Purnea army to come to this side. Siraj sent his forces under his Diwan, Mohan Lal, with orders to cross the Gangā and to fall upon the enemy on the side of Samdah, Basantapur Gola and Haiatpur; and with other parts, he

1. SHB—II. 204.

2. *Ibid*—II. 196—Cf. The *Dastur-ul-Imlā*, edited by Prof. S. H. Askari in the *JBORS*—XXIV—PP. 173-88—*Imlā* 7a.

3. *Ibid*—II. 206.

4. *Ibid*—206. Cf. Askari—*op. cit.* 179-80; Hill—Bengal.

advanced to Rajmahal, resolved to cross the Ganga, whilst the Governor of Azimābad being nearer, had already crossed over with his forces.¹

Shaukat's men pitched upon a spot at the entrance of the province between Manihari and Nawabganj. Orders were sent to the troops to encamp on the shore of the little river Soura. The responsible officers, conducting the campaign, were Cargujar Khan, Sheh Jehan Yar, Sheh Abdul Reshid, Mir Sultan Khalil Khan, Muhammad Syed Khan, Gholam Hossain and his brother Naki Ali, and Shiam Sundar, a Bengali Kayastha. The latter commanded the artillery. These were the flowers of his army.² Even here at this critical moment, Shaukat did not change his attitude towards his officers. One corps of Shaukat was commanded by Mitanal, the Diwan.³ Siraj's force, under Mohan Lal, made its appearance between Abari and Maniari.⁴ A serious battle was fought between Shaukat and Siraj at Baldiābāri. Shaukatjang was defeated and killed.⁵ Gholam Hossain returned to Purnea.⁶ After the victory of Siraj, Ram Nārāyana returned to Patna and made proper regulation, settlement and other administrative arrangements in many places as desired by Siraj. He remained loyal to him. Mohanlal restored peace at Purnea was and appointed to act as his deputy. Siraj took care to assign suitable pensions to his cousins and carried them to his capital, where he took up his abode in a new palace of his own called Mansurganj.⁷

1. *Ibid*—206.

2. *Ibid*—207.

3. *Ibid*—208 (—1170 A. H.) For details of the event.

4. *Ibid*—209.

5. *Ibid*—213. The Bengal army skirting the eastern bank of the old Kosi entered South Purnea and arrived at Manihari. The deserted old bed of Kosi was known as *Saura*, forming a hairpin bend, about 30 miles south of Purnea town and 10 miles north of the Ganges. The battle was fought on Oct. 16, 1756.

6. *Ibid*—213-15. Cf. *MG*—183.

7. *Ibid*—218. Cf. Askari—*op. cit.* 183-4 (*Imla* 10 B).

The victory over Shaukat did not solve the problems of Siraj, who had to face yet a mighty foreign enemy on the soil of Bengal. The English East India Company had received a *Firman* from the Mughal Emperor¹ in 1717. This had a serious effect on the finance of the *Subā*. A *Dastak* protected the Company's merchandise from all duties. The Nawab felt strongly against it. That, Allivardi had intentions of cutting down the rights of the English East India Company, is evident from a letter of Holwell, dated November 30, 1756.² Allivardi told Siraj before his death—"Keep in view the power the European nations have in the country.....they have seized and divided the country.....and the goods of his people between them....." ³

On his accession, Siraj had to face a number of internal difficulties. The great internal danger, threatening his safety, was there. It was without any bloodshed that he succeeded in removing Ghasiti Begam. He wrote to Mr. Drake to demolish additional fortifications. While Purnea continued to be a centre of anti-Siraj activities, he had to return to Murshidabad after receiving Drake's reply. On June 20, Fort William surrendered to Siraj after feeble resistance. The whole story of the black-Hole was cooked up after this event by Holwell. ⁴ By October, 1756, Purnea was also subdued.

1. Ram Krishna Mukherjee—"The Rise and Fall of the East India Company"—P. 143. According to the *Firman* the Company "obtained freedom of trade for its goods for export and import, and the right of issuing *dastaks* or passes for such goods."
2. *Ibid*—144, fn.—he (Allivardi) "had long meditated to destroy the forts and garrisons of the Europeans and to reduce their trade on the footing of the Armenians."
3. *Ibid*—144. For detailed quotation.
4. *Ibid*—147 fn, for the views of Karl Marx on the 'Black Hole' episode. According to Karl Mark, the *Black Hole* was a Sham scandal raised by English hypocrites. For details. Cf. Mazumdar, Raichoudhary and Datta "Advanced History of India" Part III; Sarkar and Datta—*Text Book of Modern Indian History* (1938 edition) Part I.

Thus Siraj succeeded, at the begining of his rule, in getting rid of these three powerful enemies. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty"—awareness of which would have enabled Siraj to continue his hold on Calcutta but that was not to be.

'A house divided against itself' was the order of the day in Bengal. The English, in Bengal, were aware of this situation and they, therefore, carried on intrigues with the powerful nobles. The bankers and other rich personalities were won over by the English and Siraj had to consent to an accomodation with the English. The English now demanded compensation for the losses incurred and Clive recovered Calcutta on January 2, 1757. On February 9, 1757, the treaty of Alinagar was concluded and it allowed the Company to "fortify Calcutta in such a manner as they shall esteem proper for their defence."¹ It was also stated in this treaty that "all goods belonging to the English Company, and having their *dastaks*, do pass freely by land or water, in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, without paying any duties or tolls of any kind whatsoever, and that the *Zemindars*, *Chaukidars*, *Guzar-bans*, etc., offer them no kind of molestation upon this account."²

The seven years' war (1756-1763) in Europe changed the situation in India. The English wanted to capture the French possession of Chandernagar and when it was done, Siraj did nothing to protect the French, though French fugitives found shelter with him. The English could not tolerate the situation since Nawab's sympathies with the French might prove to be a potential danger. With this end in view, the English conspired to replace Siraj by a Nawab of their own choice. The result was the battle of Plassey on 22nd. 23rd. June 1757, which ended in the victory of the English over the Nawab. The battle of Plassey paved the way for the British domination of India. It has been rightly observed that after this battle "the English Company became the grea-

1. Aitchison—*Treaties and Sanads* (4th edition) I. 181,

2. *Ibid.*

test king maker in India." ¹ Mir Jafar was made the Nawab of Bengal. ²

When Mir Jafar was on the *masnad* of Bengal, a revolution took place at Purainia where one Hazir Ali Khan, who from slave boy to Syed Ahmad Khan, had become a man in favour of his master and Superintendent of his Hall of Audience, was now availing himself of the influence which he had in the country. He wanted to sieze the Government of Purainiya. He, in confederacy with Achal Singh, Diwan to Shaukatjang, had laid his hands upon the son of Mohan Lal, whom he confined. He set up his own self for the lordship of the province. ³ Mohan was the deputy governor on the part of Sirajuddaullah. Mir Jafar sent Mir Sherifuddin and Govindamala to persuade Rām Nārāyaṇa to Remain quiet during the troubles at Purainia. ⁴ In the districts of Tajpur Gondwana and Carangola, Achal Singh had acquired riches. Hazir Ali appointed Achal Singh as his deputy. ⁵

While all this was going on, Khadum Hussain, Khana, bosom friend of Mir Jafar, requested him for the governorship of Purnea. ⁶ The representation was made when Mir Jafar

set out on a purpose to chastise the revolutionaries of Purnea. Mir Jafar bestowed on him the investiture of *Khilāt* of Purainia and Mir Cazam Khan was ordered to attend him with his corps and obey his commands.

The new governor crossed the Ganga with a small train of artillery. ⁷ Hazir Ali felt disturbed. He was expelled with

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1. R. K. Mookerjee—*op. cit.* 152 fn. on P. 144-45. he says—
"the battle of plassey was nothing better than a cowardly act of hitting the adversary below the belt."
 2. Hill—*Bengal*—III. 435; II. 437. Cf. *Siyar* (Raymond) II. 249 ff.
 3. *Siyar*—*op. cit.* 249.
 4. *Ibid*—250.
 5. *Ibid*—251.
 6. *Ibid*—253.
 7. *Ibid*—254.

his minister Achal Singh.¹ Hazir Ali went towards the mountainous tracts.² Khadum Hussain made his entry into Purnea. He assumed an air of independence in Purnea. Miran wanted to seize his person and with this end in view, he encamped at Pirpanity, which is over against Purnea.³

Khadum, a shrewd man, understood the implication of Miran's progress, and therefore, under the pretence of going to join the Bengal army, encamped at Carangola. At this stage, Clive intervened. Khadum put himself under the safe guards of the English. Clive advised Miran not to trouble this man and engaged the two parties to come to a new agreement. The interview between the two took place in the middle of the Ganga and a new treaty was concluded and continued by Colonel's mediation.⁴

Prince Ali Gauhar, styled as Shah Alam, was engaged in the Bihar at this time.⁵ Mir Jafar and Miran started for the assistance of Rām Nārāyaṇa at Azima-
Ali Gauhar's invasion bad.⁶ In course of his second expedition,
of Bihar Ali Gauhar declared himself as Emperor
 Shah Alam.⁷ Camgar Khan returned with Emperor from the expedition of Burdwan. It was at this time that the governor of Purnea, Khadum Hussain expressed sincerity to the imperial service and his readiness for Emperor's assistance.⁸ When the Emperor was residing in the neighbourhood of Tekari, it became apparent that Khadum's conciliation with Miran was superficial. Khadum marched to join the imperial army.⁹ He took his route

1. *Ibid*—255.

2. *Ibid*—256.

3. *Ibid*—327.

4. *Ibid*—327.

5. *Ibid*—281; 284.

6. *Ibid*—327.

7. *Ibid*—333; 337.

8. *Ibid*—349.

9. *Ibid*—356. For details about the general political history, any standard text book may be consulted.

along the north bank of the Ganges and arrived at Hajipur.¹ Before he could effect a junction, Captain Knox had driven off the besieging force. He followed up this blow by defeating the governor of Purnea at Hajipur.² Khadum fled precipitately northwards to Bettia.³ He was going to Murshidabad through the northern shore (in 1173 A. H.).⁴ He did not think himself a match for the Bengal army and the English. Gaṇḍak was full on his passage and Miran was now over against him.

Shortly after, a force commanded by Major Caillaud and Miran (son of Mir Jafar) hurried and set out in pursuit. In an action, fought on the 25th June, 1760, the enemy was routed. The rains had set in and the Gaṇḍak was in flood. Khadum was unable to procure boats and cross it. Closely pressed by Caillaud and Miran, Khadum had no alternative but to flee back towards the hill. His army lost their way and dispersed in dense forest. They had river in front and enemy in the rear but fortunately for them the plans of the invading force were completely altered by Miran being attacked on 4th July, 1760, struck by lightning while sleeping.⁵

After the death of Miran (1173 A. H. = 1760-61) Clive became the sole commander of both armies and advanced close to the fort of Bettia. On persuasion of Miran's ministers and Ram Nārāyaṇa's agent, he sent to the Zemindar of that country a message mixed with threats, exhorting him to settle the accounts immediately. As the Zemindar did accordingly,

1. *Ibid*—357.

2. *Ibid*—361—Cf. PG-46. (old edition)

3. *Ibid*—362.

4. *Ibid*—363.

5. *Ibid*—365. Cf. ED-VIII. 428-29; also *Khulṣat-i-tawarikh-JBORS*-1919, PP. 218-35. Cf. MG-40-41 (old edn.). Shah Alam marched through South Monghyr. In his second expedition, he was defeated by Caillaud and Miran at Sirpur on 20th of February.—see A Broome—*History of the Rise and Peoples of the Bengal Army*—I. 288-89.

the whole army decamped from the plain of Bettia.¹ Thus Bettia was brought under control again. After Miran's death, Mir Jafar gave Mir Kasim, the government of Purnea over and above that of Rangpur.²

In 1760, Mir Kasim became the Nawab of Bengal.³ Mir Kasim tried his level best to check the growing corruption. To him, the "Zemindars were a set of men faithless to a high degree, short sighted, impatient of control, ever ready to turn their backs on their masters and to forget the most important favours received at their hands."⁴ He renewed the

Jagir to Gholam Hossain near Monghyr castle, which was confiscated by Mir Jafar.⁵

He introduced financial⁶ reforms and amassed money. Mansarām, a relation of Ram Nārāyaṇa, was still in Tirhut on the other side of the Gangā. Mir Mehdi Khan was appointed the Faujdar of Tirhut. Mansarām put himself upon his defence and was killed in an engagement.⁷ Ali Quli was the Faujdar of Bhagalpur.⁸ He made Monghyr his capital.⁹

He planned an expedition against Bettia and appointed Bahadur Ali Khan as his commander.¹⁰ Bahadur Ali was the master of Artillery during the time of Allivardi and now enjoyed a small part of that office under Mir Kasim. He had with him several commanders, some trained and disciplined by Gurgin Khan. On Gurgin's advice, Mir Kasim had crossed the Ganga to proceed on an expedition against

1. *Ibid*—373; Cf. PG (old editions)—46. Khadum, defeated at Champaran by Major Caillaud, effected his escape through Terai to Purnea.
2. *Ibid*—375.
3. *Ibid*—387.
4. *Ibid*—393.
5. *Ibid*—397.
6. *Ibid*—420-21.
7. *Ibid*—421.
8. *Ibid*—426.
9. *Ibid*—431-32 ff. For details.
10. *Ibid*—437.

Nepal. Gurgin wanted to make a trial of the troops which he had disciplined. He procured information from the French priest that lived at Lhasa and thereby became proficient in the knowledge of passes of mountains and of trenches into the country. The Nawab availed himself of the pretence of establishing order in that region and set out on the intended expedition in 1176 A. H. He crossed the Ganga and commenced the march.¹

Mir Kasim arrived at Bettia. Gurgin was the ablest Armenian commander of Mir Kasim. From Bettia, the army proceeded to Nepal and met with some success at the initial stage. Gurgin was opposed by the Nepalese soldiers and they were obliged to retire.² The fort of Bettia was captured in 1762. Mir Kasim appointed Sheikh Abdur Sakkur as the Faujdar of Darbhanga. He was probably the last of the Darbhanga Faujdars who continued upto 1765. Being enraged at the English behaviour, the Nawab replaced Naubat Rai at Patna by Mir Mehdi Khan. The Nawab was then at Hajipur. He, then, went to Patna to settle things and proceeded, afterwards, to Monghyr.³

While Mir Kasim was passing by Monghyr (1763-?), a revolution took place at Purainia. Roheddin Hussain Khan, son of Saif Khan, was the contriver of it. Under the pretence of following Mir Kasim, this man had hired an old boat, crossed the Ganga and landed in Purainia in the house of Mehdi Beg. Shir-Ali Khan, the governor of Purainia, was left empty of troops.⁴ He took advantage of the situation. He wanted to recover possession of his father's government. He called one of his father's clerk, Goordial singh, and now the Principal minister of the government of Purainia. Rohe-neddin sat on the masnad and caught hold of the treasury that was passing through Purainia. He despatched a suppique to the English general and one to Mir Jafar, acknowledging

1. *Ibid*—446-47.

2. *Ibid*—448.

3. *Ibid*—449.

4. *Ibid*—514-15.

him as his master. Mir Jafar bestowed upon him the government of Purnea.¹

He began to protest against the unjust curtailment of income to his treasury. The native traders were ruined and the servants of the company monopolised the trade. Even Vansittart, who succeeded Clive in 1760, admitted that the trade was carried on without payment of duties and oppressions were committed. Mir Kasim fell out with the English on this account. Mir Kasim, in a letter to the English governor on the 26th March, 1762, pointed out—"the English chiefs allow no power to my officers..... every man with a company's *Dastak* in his hand regards himself as not less than the Company."² Mir Kasim's feelings stand vindicated in a letter of Warren Hastings of the 25th April 1762.

Vansittart went to see the Nawab in Monghyr in order to settle matters amicably. The meeting succeeded only in the formulation of a set of regulation which were later on disowned by the council. There was no final agreement. Other officers of company vehemently protested against this agreement, and there was a great hue and cry. Mir Kasim took a generous attitude by sacrificing his revenues and abolishing all inland duties so that the Indian merchants might trade on equal terms. The English again protested against this generous measure as that affected their profit. Mir Kasim resisted the claim and the result was the war against the English. The famous battle of Udhuanālā sounded the warning of Mir Kasim's fall whose efforts had raised some hope in the people of Bihar. Sher Ali, the Nawab of Purnea, led all his available forces to join the Nawab at

1. *Ibid*—516.

2. R. K. Mookherjee—*op. cit.* p. 177. Cf. Malcolm—"Life of Clive" II. 379—".....The company's servants.....have committed actions which make the name of the English stink in the nostrils of a Hindu or Mussulman.....turned out and put in the officers of the government at pleasure, and made everyone pay for their preferment."

Udhuanālā.¹ Raja Fateh Singh of Sonbarsa (Saharsa district) sided with the Britishers against Mir Kasim in the battle of Udhuanālā.²

The battle of Buxar "rivetted the shackles of the company's rule upon Bengal." In 1765, the company obtained from the Emperor a charter, making the company the Dewan or Administrator of the *Suba* of Bengal. The English thus obtained a legal status, and formally took upon themselves the responsibility of administering the province which they had conquered eight years before. The *Dastur*³ (*Folios* 61 A—70 A) contain the unpublished copy of the long letter which Mir Kasim addressed from Oudh to the Council in Calcutta in the 12th year of his exile (1776 A. D.). It represents the last vain attempt made by Mir Kasim to explain and vindicate his position.⁴ Thus ended the long history of Muslim rule in eastern India in general and Tirhut, in particular, where Francis Grand joined as the first collector in 1782.⁵

Incidental references to the history of Tirhut can be had from the papers, discovered from Qāzi Rasulpur, Teghra

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1. PG (old edition)—47. During the regime of this Nawab, four English sergeants of Patna escaped murder and were sent to Purnea and placed under the charge of the Nawab. Kasim Ali sent orders to Purnea to put them to death. The Nawab declined. Kasim directed send them to Patna. They were accordingly sent in a boat down the old Kosi with a guard of 13, but when the boat had reached the Ganga they succeeded in overpowering the guard and made their way to Udhuanālā where they joined the British army under Major Adams. Cf. Broome—*op. cit.* I. 392 Appendix—XLVI.
 2. BG—174. (old edition)
 3. JBORS—XXIV. PP. 178—79.
 4. *Ibid*—179 Cf. the PIHRC—XV (Poona) 1938.
 5. ST—237. It is said that Francis Rose forced himself and set down in the midst of Raja Raj Ballabh's jagir in Tirhut. The indigo-trade, in Tirhut, deserves a special treatment. For Rajballabh—Consult—"Maharaja Rajballabh"—by R. C. Majumdar (Calcutta—1947).

(Supra). The documents, relating to the appointment of Qāzi in village Rasulpur, Mahal Teghrā, Sarkar Hajipur, bear the names and seals of Ālamgir Ghāzi (Aurangzeb), Farrukhsiyar and Muhammad Shah. Shah Alam and a number of other officials. These documents are in the form of a Firman. Another copy of document, in accordance with the Firman of the 7th year of Farrukhsiyar, has been noticed elsewhere and is dated in 1129 Fasli.¹ The Teghra documents refer to Pargana Bhusari and Pargana Imādpur. In one of the documents, we find one Gholam Samadani going to Azimabad. When Gholam Samadani went to Azimabad, Muhammad Rafi was the *Amil* of Bhusari. There is no difficulty in identifying Rafi, who is known to us from other sources as well. This Rafi had dislodged the *Pandās* of Jaymangalagarh in the last quarter of the 18th century.²

Rafi advised Samadani to apply to the collector for the continuance of his post as Qāzi. Without a recognised Qāzi, it was impossible to maintain law and order in that area. Samadani applied with a copy of the Firman and sent another to the Nizāmat. Rafi also recommended his case for consideration. Another letter in the same discovery throws sufficient light on the then condition. Gholam Kalandar, one of the relatives of the Qāzis of Rasulpur, wrote a letter to Gholam Samadani. Kalandar passed through Kanauj and Faizabad, which according to the writer, was established by Shujauddaullah. He had gone there with the sole purpose of eking out his existence by means of some trade. From *Kaswa Mow* (probably *Mow Bazidpur*) another gentleman had gone with the same purpose. Kalandar, in this letter, repents for having come over to this place. He was in search of some European ship so that he could safely go to

1. *PUJ*—1953-P. 129.

2. *G. D. College Bulletin*—No. 2-P. 17 Cf. *The Regional Records Survey*—1952-53 containing my note on the same. The *Pandās* of Jaymangalagarh are in possession of these three documents.

Patna. Various other documents are there in possession of that gentleman.

In Tirhut, Bhikhari Mahtha continued to be the Faujdar after the battle of Plassey. He ruled with the help of Mansārām. In 1761, Mansārām was removed and Mir Kasim appointed Mir Mehdi Khan as the Faujdar of Darbhanga. Mansārām was killed (*Maasir*—1946). Abdur Sakkur was the last of the Faujdars of Darbhanga (*Ibid*) under the Nawab of Bengal. The last governor of Purnea was Muhammad Khan who was replaced, by the English in 1770, Mr. Ducarret. Narendrasingh's son, Pratapasingh is said to have been friendly to the Nawab (Mir Kasim) who, on his way to Patna, waited at Bhaura to meet him. They met at Quilaghat, Darbhanga.¹ Maharaja Kalyan Singh,² the last native governor of Bihar, asked the English Council that the charges against his father were groundless. The enquiry was postponed till all the agents and rent-payers had been sent for. One of these was the Raja of Bettia who proved of invaluable help to Kalyan Singh in showing the innocence of his father.

1. *BMI*—237—38. Cf. *JBORS*—XXVI—29 ff. (Prof. Askari's article on 'Maharaj Kalyan Singh'—"Raja Madho Singh of Tirhut and Mitrajit Singh of Tekari were confined by Maharaja Kalyan Singh and had Sazawals placed in charge of their states. That the Raja of Tirhut was not a paragon of virtue, is shown by the complaints that he not only failed to pay his rent but fraudulently secured Sanads for Mahals (*Calendar of Persian Correspondence*—V, 1871) already granted to others. Hand has not discussed Kalyan Singh's case against the Raja of Tirhut enhancing the Dastoor allowed to his house since the days of Allivardi from Rs. 22000 to 60,000.

For Pratap Singh Cf. *BPP*—LXXIII. P. 127 the Superintendent of Sircar Tirhut wrote on July 27, 1771—"There are itinerant robbers who frequent this Sircar, and these, along with the thieves who frequent this Sircar have grown formidable and they are supported by Raja Pratap Singh."

2. *JBORS*—XXVI. p. 19 ff.

The formal proceeding was drawn up by the secretary of the Council. Muhammad Ashraf Khan Kashmiri, The Amil of Sarkar Champaran, Gholam Hossain and others testified to the innocence of the Maharāja.¹

Tirhut played an important part in the history of the Indo-Nepalese relation. Tirhut was a stepping stone to the conquest of Nepal. It was through Tirhut that Nepali contact with the European traders could be established. The first recorded penetration in Nepal was in 1715. In response to a request at Bettia by Raja Dhrub Singh, a mission came from Rome. In 1739, Raja Dhrub Singh of Bettia enlisted Father Joseph Mary's services as Doctor, who nursed his ailing wife in 1740. The Rani was cured and the Raja wanted the Father to stay back in Bettia and to preach Roman Catholic faith. Father Horace, who had gone to Khatmandu, was arrested and later on released (1715). Father Francis died at Bhatgaon in 1733. In 1739, the king of Bhatgaon sent his invitation to reopen the mission. Father Jocikin and Father Vito went back to Nepal from Patna. A branch was opened at Pātan in response to Nepal's appeal. When the Lhasa mission was closed in 1745, Joseph Mary came back to Bettia by which time the authorities at Rome had permitted the opening of a mission at Bettia. The mission in Nepal was closed in 1766 and they came down to Bettia, where an important Roman Catholic centre was opened. ¹

*Christian missions
in Tirhut and
Nepal*

1. BPP—LXXIV. p. 135 ff.

APPENDIX-I

IMPORTANT SARKĀRS AND MAHĀL IN NORTH BIHAR

(1) <i>Sarkār Tirhut</i> and its <i>Mahāls</i>	
Ahāspura	Bagi
Uttarakhand	Bochchāwar
Ahlwār	Barsani
Aubhi	Tarāni
Aughārā	Tilokachāwand
Athais	Tājpur
Basri and four Mahāls	Tānda
Bahrwārah	Tarson
Bānpur	Tirhut with suburban district
Barel	Jākhar
Pepra	Jārāyal
Padri	Chakmani
Basotara	Jakhal (pur)
Panchhi (? Bachhi)	Jabdi
Bahnor	Dahror
Bachhnor	Darbhāngā
Pachham Bhagu	Ramjaund
Bagda	Sareshtā
Purab Bhagu	Salimpur
Pandrājah	Salimābād
Bādi Bhosādī	Sanjoli Tadrā
Bhālā	Alāpur
Pahārpur	Fakhrābād
Bahādurpur	Khānavli
Barai	Ghar Chāwand
Parhār Raghu	Kodākhand
Bhaura	Korādi
Palwāah	Khandā
Borā	Ladwāri
Banwa	Mahlā
Parharpur Jabdi	Morwah
	Mandah (Mahend ?)
	Margā (Naranga)

Malahami

Nauram

Nautan

Hāthi

Harni

Hābi (? Hali)

(2) *Sarkār Hajipur* and its
Mahāls

Akharpur

Boswāwi

Basārā

Bālāgachah

Teghra

Hajipur with suburban districts

Rati

Saresā

Imādpur

Garhsarah

Naipur

(3) *Sarkār Champāran* with
its *Mahāls*

Samrun

Mlehsi

Majhora

(4) *Sarkār Sāran* with its
Mahāls

Indar

Barari

Narhan

Pachlakh

Chanend

Chambāra

Juwainah

Deqsi

Sihāh

Pāl

Bārā

Godah (Gawā)

Kaliyānpur

Kāshmir

Māngjhi

Mandhal

Maker

(5) *Sarkār Monghyr* with its
Mahāls in North Bihar

Balial

Pharkiah

Chai

Dharmaipur

Pathraha

(6) *Sarkār Purniyah* with its
Mahāls

Asonja

Jairampur

Suburban district of Purniyah

Dalmālpur

Sultanpur

Sripur

Sair

Kathiyāri

Kadwan.

APPENDIX-II

(Reprinted from the Journal of *Oriental Thought*)

VIDYĀPATI'S PURUṢAPARĪKṢĀ—AN IMPORTANT SOURCE OF OUR POLITICAL HISTORY

By

Radhakrishna Choudhary

While much attention has been paid towards the literary valuation of Vidyāpati, practically none has paid any heed towards the historical materials which can be had from his Sanskrit, Avahatṭa and Maithili writings. The late lamented Mm. H. P. Śāstrī had rightly pointed out the indispensability of PURUṢAPARĪKṢĀ as an important source book of our history. The materials for the study of our history are scattered in a variety of books, folklore and fiction, poetry and songs. The folklore, in its own way, professes to reconstruct a history of man.¹ PURUṢAPARĪKṢĀ, though written in a conventional style of the contemporary books of ethics, is very useful for our purpose. There is every danger of being seduced in poetry and folklore and hence one should be cautious in making an uncritical judgement or use of such evidence. In avoiding this danger, I have left no stone unturned to secure all corroborative evidence in support of my argument.

There is no doubt that Vidyāpati was the greatest poet of Eastern India after Jayadeva. His name is a household word in Eastern India and thanks to the exertions of the late lamented Sir George Grierson, his love songs are now the admiration of the world. Distinguished as a poet, a story-writer, a gazetteer-writer, a letter-writer & composer of songs in praise of deities, he is also a recognised authority on Smṛti. By his time, Mithilā lost her independence. The external strain on the cohesion of Hindu society was fast reaching the breaking point. Our poet re-enforced the tottering edifice as far as

1. A. H. Krappe—“*The Science of Folklore*”—London, 1930—Introduction, XV.

possible.¹ He failed to make a break with the past. He could not rise above the influence of his time. He could not [shake off his connections with the past as his contemporary reformers and preachers did. This was so because of his association with the Oinwara Court. He wrote a number of works; but we shall take simply one of them, viz. the PURUṢAPARIKṢĀ.

PURUṢAPARIKṢĀ is an expanded form of BHŪPARIKRAMĀ. The latter gives the geographical account of sixty-five towns or villages together with their Purāṇic importance, if any. He wrote this Gazetteer in the form of an expiatory tour of Balarāma. In his description, he sticks to the old names of hermitages. Balarāma, after reaching Tirabhukti, revels in the description of ancient holy places.² PURUṢAPARIKṢĀ is a book of moral tales, written under the orders of Śiva Singh. It starts with an examination of Hindu ethical ideals and illustrates its moral with examples from ancient history. The characters there are historical knowledge. A critical study of this book is still a desideratum.³ Herein we find various historical tales right from the beginning of the Mauryan Period down to Śiva Singh in the 15th century A. D. It describes the history of the "Iron Age."⁴ Here we shall discuss in chronological order the historical personages illustrated in this great work of our poet.

1. H. P. Sāstri—कीर्तिलता Introduction—"जखन मुसलमानेरा काशी पर्यन्त लोप करिया तुलिया छिल, सेई समये विद्यापति प्रादुर्भूत इहया नाना ग्रन्थ लिखिया अनेक तीर्थे र पुनः संस्थापन ओ अनेक हिन्दू सत्कर्मों पुनः प्रचलन करेन। तिन ओ ताहाँर सहयोगी मैथिल पण्डित दिगेर निकट हिन्दू समाज ए विषयेर जन्य चिर दिन ऋणी थाकिबे।"
2. Calcutta Sanskrita College Manuscript, No. VI.
3. PURUṢAPARIKṢĀ, Ed., by Chandā Jhā (Darbhanga); Grierson—"Vidyāpati & his contemporaries"—IA. XIV. p. 192 and his edition of PURUṢAPARIKṢĀ, (London-1935). Unless otherwise stated, Grierson's translation of this book has been followed. Vidyāpati calls this a work on knotty science of politics—"ग्रन्थ ग्रन्थिलदण्डनीतिविषये।"
4. PURUṢAPARIKṢĀ—P. 3, Verse 14.

THE NANDAS AND THE MAURYAS

In tales 13, 19 and 20 we find a description of the Nandas and the Mauryas. In tale 19, we have an illustration of Nanda's behaviour towards his minister, Śakaṭāra and also an example of the cruelty of the last Nanda king. It gives us the story how Śakaṭāra, being convinced of the sincerity of Cāṇakya, caught hold of him and brought him as a person worthy of participating in gifts. Cāṇakya was of dark brown nails and teeth and as such unfit to be a recipient of such gifts. Śakaṭāra, knowing full well that Cāṇakya would be insulted, had brought him simply to take revenge against the Nandas. Cāṇakya was actually insulted and took a vow to compass the king's death. Cāṇakya promised to hurl off this Nanda¹ and to place a Vṛṣala on the throne. Tale 20 reveals that with the help of king Parvateśvara, Candragupta was installed as a king. We have a reference to the nine Nandas² and also to the fact that the dynasty became extinct when Cāṇakya slew the last king. According to the Purāṇas, the kings of the Śiśunāga dynasty were followed by the nine Nandas. The reigning king in Pāṭaliputra, during Alexander's invasion, was extremely unpopular and "contemptible to his subjects." Historical evidences³ are there to prove that they were the bitterest enemies of the Brāhmanas. Sober history records that the Nandas were supplanted by Candragupta Maurya. According to Mudrārākṣasa, his chief ally was Parvataka who has been identified with Poros.⁴ All accounts

1. Shamsatry—अर्थशास्त्र (Eng. Trans.) p. 463—says, "This शास्त्र has been made by him who from intolerance (of misrule) quickly rescued the scriptures & the science of weapons & the earth which had passed to the Nanda kings." Cf. Verse 4 of Tale 20—"The race of the Nandas have I slain, this their realm have I seized."
2. Verse 6 of Tale 20.
3. Grierson's view quoted in Vincent Smith's "Early History of India" (4th. edn.), p. 44, FN. 2—The famous drama विशाखदत्त's मुद्राराक्षस is also referred to in Tale 9 & it seems that our poet has largely drawn upon that work.
4. R. S. Tripathi—"History of Ancient India"—(Benares) p. 148.

agree that Candragupta routed the Nanda army.¹ MUDRĀ-RAKṢASA tells us that Candragupta was attacked by a confederacy of the Northern powers but that failed owing to the Machiavellian intrigues of Kauṭilya.² It is evident from PURUṢAPARĪKṢĀ that there was some sort of struggle between Candragupta and his allies. Cāṇakya succeeded in his mission by placing a Vṛṣala (Śūdra or low caste) on the throne.³ Our poet had read the Purāṇas and other ancient literature and had thereby acquired some historical perspective. Though these tales are meant for ethical teaching, they possess an iota of historical truth and cannot be rejected outright as mere tales signifying nothing. This book was written primarily with the intention of training Prince Śiva Singh and to make him an ideal ruler and that's why our poet selected all ideal characters from ancient Indian history. Except the traditional ancient Indian sources, our poet had no access to any other source.

VIKRAMĀDITYA OF UJJAIN

Another historical character associated with ancient Indian history is the celebrated Vikramāditya of Ujjain. He figures prominently in Tales 1, 5, 17 and 39; but it seems that in the last tale our poet has confused us by making Vikramāditya a contemporary of king Bhoja. Vikramāditya has been called a "Hero generous" in tale 1. In tale 5, the chief features of his administrative system have been discussed. In tale 17, the king is said to have summoned his astrologer, Varāha, to know about the fate of a Brāhmaṇa in misery and is also said to have consulted Śabarāsvāmin on the same subject. Tale 39 refers to king Bhoja of Dhāra and make him a contemporary of the king of Ujjain. To ascertain the historicity of this king out of these confusing tales, we have to take recourse to history. According to the late Dr. Grier-

1. *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*—ततश्च नव चैतान्नन्दान् कौटिल्यो ब्राह्मणः समुद्धरिष्यति । तेषामभावे मौर्याः पृथिवीं मोक्षयन्ति । कौटिल्य एव चन्द्रगुप्तमुत्पन्नं राज्येऽभिवेक्षयति ।
2. Smith—*Op. Cit.* p. 45.
3. All agree that Candragupta Maurya was of humble origin.

son,¹ Vikramāditya's date and his actual existence are uncertain. He observes, "According to Indian tradition, he defeated the Śakas and established the Vikrama Era in 58-57 B. C." This conclusion is not free from doubts as nothing has yet been positively settled about Vikramādityan tradition. It is well known that Vikramāditya is the title and not the name of a king.²

Now the question arises as to which of these Vikramādityas should be identified with king Vikramāditya mentioned in our PURUṢAPARĪKṢĀ. Tale 17 helps us in ascertaining the truth. Śabarāsvāmin and Varāhamihira are mentioned in this tale. There is some difference of opinion on the date of Śabarāsvāmin. Some scholars hold that he was the father of Vikramāditya, founder of the Vikrama Sāmvat, but this conclusion does not hold good in the light of his own commentary which does not seem to be so old.³

The trouble with every ancient Indian personality of repute is this that there is no certainty about their date. The date of Varāhamihira is similarly confusing. In clearing off this

1. Grierson—*Op. Cit.* P. XV.

2. We have references to following important विक्रमादित्य in our ancient Indian history—(i) Candragupta II Vikramāditya, patron of nine gems. He has better claim to be regarded as the original of the mythical king of that name. (Smith *Op. Cit.*, 306) (ii) विक्रमादित्य I of Vatapi & विक्रमादित्य II. (iii) विक्रमादित्य son of सोमेश्वर I Chālukya. (iv) विक्रमादित्य VI Tribhuvanmalla, styled विक्रमादित्य II, by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar—“*Early History Deccan*” p. 148.

3. शबरस्वामिन्'s commentary of मीमांसासूत्र * 1. 1. 5. In his commentary, we find some reference about the Mahāyāna sect. अनेन प्रत्युक्तो महायानिकः पन्थाः । The इल्लोकवार्तिक of कुमारिल is based on शबर's commentary. On the date of शबर the following sources may be consulted—Prof. K. Chattopadhyaya's article, in *G. N. Jha Commemoration Volume*. Dr. G. V. Devasthali—“Date of शबरस्वामिन्” in the JGJRI-VI-pt. 3—p. 231-240, Dr. G. V. Devasthali's article in the *Silver jubilee Volume of the ABORI*, Poona.

mist we have to take recourse to circumstantial evidence. Varāhamihira is also associated with Vikramāditya. Varāha is generally believed to have flourished during the Gupta period and was probably one of the nine gems of the court of Candragupta II, Vikramāditya.¹ This is supported by the fact that he is said to have died in the Śaka Era² 509. I am inclined to believe that Vikramāditya of PURUṢAPARĪKṢĀ was no other than Candragupta II Vikramāditya of the Gupta dynasty. From tale 5, it is evident that he was in the habit of going out in disguise to find the truth. He was noted for his keen sense of justice and his high capacity for rewarding the meritorious and good and punishing the evil. He chastised those who followed an evil course. That his administration was efficient is attested to by the aforesaid tales. He used to do things in a concealed manner and this corroborated by Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*, which transmits the scandalous tradition that "in his enemy's city, the king of the Śakas, while courting another man's wife, was butchered by Candragupta concealed in his mistress's dress."³ From the above discourse, it is evident that Vikramāditya, referred to in these tales, stood for Candragupta II of the Gupta dynasty. In a work like PURUṢAPARĪKṢĀ, some sort of digression from the main

1. धन्वतरिक्षपणकामरसिद्धशकुवेतालमदृष्टकर्परकालिदासाः ।
ख्यातो ब्राह्मिहिरो नृपतेः सभायां रत्नानि वै वररुचिर्नव विक्रमस्य ॥

2. Vide Amara's commentary on खण्डखाद्य of *Brahmagupta*—
नवाधिकपञ्चशतसंख्यशाके (509) ब्राह्मिहिराचार्यो दिवंगतः ।

Dr. R. B. Pandey in his "विक्रमादित्य of Ujjain" (Benares 1951) has tried to show that ब्राह्मिहिर & कालिदास were contemporaries of विक्रमादित्य & flourished in the 1st century B. C. He has mainly relied on the शुचिष्ठिर which by itself is not free from doubts & controversy. With the acumen of a tried historian he has further discussed the historicity of विक्रमादित्य In the present state of our knowledge, we cannot accept his work as the last word on the subject. Most of his conclusions are based on shaky foundations.

3. बाण's इर्षचरित Trans. by Cowell & Thomas, P. 194.

Cf. अरिपुरे च परकलत्रकामुकं कामिनीवेषयुतश्चन्द्रयुतः शकपतिमशायत् ।

point is not unnatural, because it aims to give us history in the form of ethical tales. While ascertaining history we should give some discount to the master-mind if he has confused us somewhere to suit his interest as a story-teller. It is true that he used the ancient sources indiscriminately to make his story interesting.

MALLADEVA OF THE KARNĀTA DYNASTY

Tales 3, 4, 8, 11 and 22 throw light on the history of the Karnāṭa dynasty of Mithilā. The Karnāṭas ruled in Mithilā from 1097 to 1324 A. D.¹ Tale 3 gives some information about Malladeva, "Hero Valorus," son of Nānyadeva, founder of the Karnāṭa dynasty.² This tale has been subjected to much controversy by historians of repute.³ Malladeva was associated with Jayacandra of Kanauja (1170-1193 A. D.) and also with the Chikkora king. The Chikkoras belonged to the kingdom of Pithi⁴ and at one time played a very prominent part in the history of North-Eastern India. Pithi was represented probably by Trans-Sona district or Tirhut and was a buffer state between Gauḍa and Kānyakubja. There

1. Vide writer's "*The कर्णाट of मिथिला*" in the ABORI—1954.—Vol. XXXV. PP. 91-121.
2. *Ibid.* This is corroborated by the epigraphic source. The present writer has discovered an inscription of Malladeva, which reads—"OM SRI MALLADEVASYA."
3. JASB (N. S.)—XI—P. 408. While M. M. Chakravarti thinks that Malladeva died at a very early age, पुरुषपरीक्षा states otherwise—"There Jayacandra treated him with love....and when his wounds were healed promoted him to great honour & created him his vice-regent. Mr. Chakravarti has tried to reconstruct the कर्णाट chronology on the basis of this tale. Cf. Dr. R. C. Mazumdar—IHQ—VII—P. 681 Pt. Raghavachārya's "*Malladeva-Vijaya*" (unpublished Kāvya) may be useful for more information on the subject.
4. R. D. Banerjee—*Palas of Bengal*, P. 86-87; H. C. Raichoudhary—"Studies in Indian Antiquities," P. 159-167. Banerjee—"Banglar Itihasa" P. 257, JASB-1904—Part. I, P. 178, Note 1; JBORS—IV-267. 1A. XLVIII-43. 1C. V. 379. Commentary to S. Nandi's रामचरित—V, 5, Chapter II.

was some sort of matrimonial alliance between the Gahaḍawālas and the kingdom of Pithi. The Pithi princess, Kumāradevī, was the wife of Govindacandra Gahaḍawāla. She was a Buddhist.¹ Govinda was an orthodox Hindu and this shows that tension between these two sects had eased to some extent. The relation between these two kingdoms was also very cordial. In the present tale, Jayacandra has been called the king of Kāśī. We are told here that the Chikkora king had modest puissance and had not the means to measure arms with so mighty a monarch as Jayacandra of Kāśī. They were even unable to pay huge indemnity if so demanded. Malladeva is said to have become the cause of conflict between these two kingdoms. Malladeva was a brave fighter and was called "Pratimalla" or antagonist. He is addressed by Jayacandra as the supreme scion of the Karnāṭa race. The historicity of Malladeva remains to be verified by other sources.

SHIHABUDDIN MUHAMMAD GHORI & NARASINGHDEVA

Tale 4 has been subjected to various interpretations. According to this tale there reigned in Hastināpura a Moslem Sultan, who ruled the land from sea to sea. A Kafar Raja, unable to endure his tyranny, came thither with his entire army to attack him. The Sultan, on being informed of his approach, issued from the city escorted by the horses from Balkh and Turkestan and many hundreds of riders and challenged to combat. The Sultan was helped by two young princes—Narasīnghdeva of the K a r ṇ ā ṭ a race and Chāchikadeva, the Chauhāna. Grierson has identified this Sultan with Muhammad-bin-Tugluq (1325-1351²). According to the learned scholar, the Kafar Raja was probably Tarmashirin Khan of the savage Mongols. He also accepts that Nārasīnghdeva was the grandson of Nānyadeva. Then in that case he cannot be a contemporary of Muhammad Tugluq. Narasīnghdeva ruled between 1188 and 1227 A. D.³ He observes: "When

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, IX. 325-328.

2. Grierson—*Op. Cit.* P. 19 fn., bases his argument on Smith's History.

3. According to Grierson—1147 to 1199 A. D.

Ghiyasuddin, the father and predecessor of Muhammad, was returning from the conquest of Bengal in A. D. 1323, he passed through Tirhut and took our present Narasiṅghdeva with him to Delhi. Who Chāchika was, I do not know.¹ The learned scholar has made the confusion worse confounded by his above statement. I do not understand on what authority he has based his conclusions. It is crystal clear that in 1323, the last and greatest king of the Karṇāṭa dynasty, Harasiṅghdeva, was ruling and Ghiyasuddin had to strike against him.² Chakravarti's conclusions are the same and hence thoroughly unreliable.³ It seems plausible to identify this Moslem Sultan with Shihābuddin Muhammad Ghori because this identification finds support in the Mithilā tradition which asserts that Narasiṅghdeva used to go to Kanauj with his uncle Malladeva and after the end of Jayacandra's reign went to the court of Muhammad Ghori and fought for him.⁴ Narasiṅgh was a contemporary of Muhammad Ghori. We should bear in mind that Vidyāpati has simply used Muhammad and not the full name. Such instances in history are very rare. Further we should not that he has given the history of the Karṇāṭas in five tales and while doing so he has kept in view the chronological order. At least this much of chronological accuracy is expected of a scholar of his repute, whose ancestors had served in various capacities under the Karṇāṭas of Mithilā and about whose exploits he must have been fully aware.

CHACHIKADEVA CHAUHANA

The question of the identification of Chāchika is also worth investigating. The Chauhāna geneology leads us to believe that Someśvara Chauhāna had two sons—Pirthirāja (Prthvi-

1. Grierson—*Op. Cit.*

2. Briggs—*History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India*, Vol. I—P. 407; Thomas—*Chronicles of Pathan Kings*, 8. 188, 194-99 *JRAS* IV-124; *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*, Eliot—III-234.

3. Chakravarti—*Op. Cit.* 412-13.

4. Mm. P. Jha—*Mithila Tattwa Vimarsa*—P. 115.

rāja) and Chāhir Deva.¹ Pṛthvirāja was slain by Muhammad Ghorī in 1193. To me it seems that he has been named by our poet as Chāchika Deva or Chārchika Deva. This possibility can not be precluded. As he was the brother of Pṛthvirāja, he must have been a contemporary of Muhammad Ghorī. He might have joined his camp after the defeat of his brother. Chāchika Deva is called "Hero Truthful." It is not possible to identify this Kafar Rājā unless further evidence is forthcoming. Hindus are also called Kafar by the Muslims and it is likely that it might refer to some sort of conflict with any Indian power of the time.

HARASINGHDEVA

In tales 8, 11, and 22, we are told about the last great king of the Karnaṭa dynasty. In tale 8 we find the discussion about the ability of his minister Vireśvara and in tale 11 we are told about his relation with the king of Devagiri. From tale 11 we learn that Gaṇeśwara, well versed in the Sāṅkhya school of philosophy and skilled in the science of government, was one of his ministers.² Harasiṅghdeva was a contemporary of Rāmachandradeva of Devagiri. The two kings were on terms of correspondence. Hemādri was a minister to the king of Devagiri. It is believed that these two kings entered into friendship.

Harasiṅghdeva has been described as the best judge of the

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1. Todd—*Annals & Antiquities of Rajasthan*—Vol. II—P. 365; Mark the spelling used in this work. From what we have seen above and as we shall see in the following pages, it is evident that in dealing with the historical personages, our poet relied on some particular sources which were available to him but are now lost to us. So far as his knowledge of ancient history is concerned, he more or less depended on the Puranas & for contemporary history, he used the prevailing sources. Hammfr's account in Vidyāpati carries with it a good deal of information.
 2. Cf. *India Government Mss.* No. 6126—Introductory Verse—
वेदस्मृतिपुराणादि दृष्ट्वा लोकहितैषिणा ।
कृतं सुगतिसोपानं श्रीगणेश्वरमंत्रिणा ।

"Art of Singing" ¹ in tale 22. This story gives a good side-light into the accomplishment of the Maithil king and we can infer from this statement that music and singing were well patronised during his court. We have an elaborate account of the musicians and singers in Jyotirīśvara's Vārṇa-ratnākara.

BHOJA OF DHĀRA

Tales 16, 25 and 39 give us information about Bhoja of Dhāra (1018-1060 A. D.). He was an accomplished scholar and a liberal patron of learning and has been regarded as the ideal Hindu prince. Tale 25 reveals to us that he was a beneficent ruler and everything was perfect during his reign. Tale 39 makes him a contemporary of Vikramāditya about whom we have discussed earlier in this paper. Bhoja was a great ruler and that is evident from the "Udepur Praśasti." ² His influence was felt over a large part of India and in an inscription he is called a Sārvabhauma. He is said to have defeated and slain his southern antagonist identified with Vikramāditya ³ V. Our poet's contention about his intellectual attainments is also confirmed by sober history. He was a versatile genius and was the author of about two dozen subjects of different variety. As a munificent patron of learning, he adorned the country with a large number of superb temples. He may rightly be called a polymath. Undoubtedly he was a prince of uncommon ability.

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1. इरो वा हरि (हर) सिंहो वा गीतिविद्याविशारदो । हरि (हर) सिंहे गते स्वर्गं गीतिवित् केवलं हरः ।

This tale gives the name of a king of Gorakhpur. Udaya-singh of Gorakhpur, being pleased, gave Kalānidhi many presents and local talents, being enraged, challenged Kalānidhi. Kalānidhi refused to accept any arbitration on the excuse quoted above.

2. EI—Vol. I—P. 237-38.
3. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Op. Cit.*, P. 140, prefers to call him Vikramāditya I. Did विद्यापति in earlier tale mean his Vikramāditya ? Further research may throw some light on the subject.

JAYACANDRA & SIHABUDDIN MUHAMMAD GHORI

Tales 3 and 41 reveal to us the history of Jayacandra of Kanauj and Sihābuddin Muhammad Ghori. In tale 41, Jayacandra is described as the king of Ujjain and Kāśī. He is said to have conquered all the surrounding lands and levied tribute from sea to sea.¹ He is said to have defeated Sihābuddin Ghori several times and on account of his repeated victories, he had become arrogant.² The Chauhāna chronicles also testify to the greatness of this king and affirm that Jayacandra "overcame the king of the north, making eight tributary kings prisoners, twice defeated Siddharāja of Anhilvāda and extended his dominion south of the Narmadā."³ "That he was also king of Kāśī is attested to by a Muslim historian Ibn-Ashir in "Kāmil-ut-Tawārikh," wherein it is stated that the "king of Benares was the greatest king in India, and possessed the largest territory, extending lengthwise from the borders of China to the province of Malwa, and in breadth from the sea to within ten days' journey to Lāhore."⁴ He is styled as the "Rai of Benares" by the Muslim historians.⁵ It appears that he had some sort of loose sovereignty over Benares and on account of its religious sanctity he might have selected it as a place of residence. From tale 41, we learn that Muhammad Ghori, sullied by humiliation of his disgrace, conceived against him a dire hatred. He sent a spy to have first-hand knowledge of Jayacandra's military strength and also of the persons who counted in his administration. Vidyādhara is said to be chief minister of Jayacandra. He is said to have been killed in war by the treachery of his wife Śubhadevi.⁶ The truth of it remains a mystery unless further

1. Cf. *Surjana Prakasa*.....योजनशतमानां पृथ्वीमसाधयत् ।

2. Cf. *Rambhāmānjari*-P. 5, Act I.

3. Todd—*Op. Cit.* (Crooke's Edn.), Vol. II-P. 936.

4. Elliot—*Op. Cit.* Vol. II-P. 251.

5. Ibid—P. 222-23; 300, etc. Cf. Ferishta calls Jayacandra "the prince of Kanauj and Benares." (Briggs—*Op. Cit.* Vol. I, P. 178); Proceedings of the *ASB*, 1880, P. 76-80; *IHQ*-V. P. 14-30.

6. Nerurkara's edn. of पुरुषपरीक्षा Bombay 1914.

evidence is forthcoming. Grierson's version is that the enemy could not find out Jayacandra, who is said to have escaped from Kanauj about 1194 A. D..... He was defeated and slain in the battle of Chandrāwar.¹ Viewed from the historical standpoint, tale 41 is important and we need not dismiss these tales as tales having no historical significance.²

LAKṢMAṆASENA OF BENGAL

Tale 23 and 38 throw a very illuminating light on Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. Tale 23 informs us that Umāpatidhara was his chief minister. Among those who attended his court was the famous actor Gaṇḍharva. Tale 38 informs us that Ratnaprabhā was the queen of Lakṣmaṇasena. It is said that a treaty existed between him and the king of Benares and that was broken and war declared. The king of Benares was strong in cavalry and had arranged to attack Lakṣmaṇa. Umāpatidhara was his court poet and the composer of the verse of the famous Deopārā inscription. The great scholar Halāyudha served as the chief minister and the chief judge. From the two stanzas of Umāpati, we learn that Lakṣmaṇasena carried his arms upto Kāśī.³ A verse of his another court poet⁴ S a r a ṇ a refers to his conquest of Gauḍa, Kaliṅga, Kāmārūpa, Kāśī and Magadha.⁵ He was a contemporary of Jayacandra of Kanauja. According to *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga, Jayacandra was the king of Kāśī.⁶ The Bāker-gang inscription of Keśavasena⁶ and the Madhainagar⁷ grant claim that Lakṣmaṇasena erected many pillars of victory in

1. Elliot—II-222-23, Briggs-178, 192; रससार P. 455.

2. R. S. Tripathi—*History of Kanauja*—P. 330 fn.

3. R. C. Mazumdar—*History of Bengal*—Vol. I, P. 219. Halāyudha in his ब्राह्मणसंवत्सर (Benares-Samvat 1935) informs us that he became a धर्माध्यक्ष. He was at first a राजपण्डित & later on raised to the post of a महामात्य—Cf. *JASB* (N. S.)—XI—P. 331-34.

4. *JASB* (N. S.)—II-161,

5. Ibid-174,

6. V. 210,

7. *JASB* (N. S.) x-99-104, (Ed. by R. D. Banerjee) 4b-

Benares and Allahabad. Even if the exact political status of Lakṣmaṇasena in Benares cannot be precisely and accurately determined in the present state of our knowledge, one cannot agree with the hasty conclusion of a learned historian of repute that the "monuments of his (Lakṣmaṇa) greatness never existed elsewhere than in poet's imagination."¹ Vidyāpati hints at some sort of conflict with Jayacandra. It is evident from tale 38 that Lakṣmaṇa, seizing upon a convenient opportunity, set forth to attack Benares. Instead of passing a hasty judgement, it is better to take up a more sober view that his advance upto Benares was probably more in the nature of a daring raid than a regular conquest and it must have resulted in the weakening of the power of the Benares king, who required peace for an effective fight against the Muslim ourush.²

HAMMIRADEVA AND ALAUDDIN KHALJI

Tale 2 refers to Hammīradeva of Ranthambor and Alāuddin Khalji. Alāuddin had some cause of anger against his general Mahim Sāhi (Mir Muhammad Śāh, according to Grierson). He was suspected of having an intrigue with a member of the Sultan's harem. He knew the bloodthirsty nature of the Sultān and decided to abscond. He took refuge with the "Hero Compassionate" Hammīradeva (Hamirdeo),³ who was the king of Ranthambor (Ranasthamba, according to Vidyāpati). He gave him shelter. Alāuddin wanted his general from him and he made this a plea to attack Hammīr. Alāuddin selected it as the first state for the trial of strength with the Rājputas because of its proximity to Delhi. The fort of Ranthambor

Ibid-V. 473, 476, Versell.

1. Tripathi-Opti Cit, P. 325.
2. Mazumdar—*Op. Cit.* P. 221. On a study of different characters in पुरुषपरिक्षा it is evident that our poet took all historical personages into consideration. *He might have had some access to the sources now lost to us. Certain findings of the poet need patient investigation as he must have based his conclusions on some solid grounds.*
3. Joddharaja—*Hammir Raso*, ed. by S. S. Dass—Kasi-Samvat 2006.

was reputed for its impregnability. According to Amir Khusrav, it was surrounded by a massive wall 'three Kośa' in circumference.¹ It was very strong and inaccessible. Added to these above-mentioned aims, Alāuddin had a handy excuse and justification. Hammīr Kāvya mentions his giving shelter to Muhammad Śāh as the cause of Alāuddin's invasion and this is corroborated by Isāmi. Alāuddin's general, Ulugh Khān asked Hammīr to put the fugitive to death or to surrender to him. He was asked to be ready for the consequences if he refused to act in accordance with the instructions.² We have conflicting evidences on this particular point. Hammīr declined to betray his guest.

A number of Hammīr Rāsos have been written from time to time and the earliest one is by a Jaina writer, Nyāyachandra Sūri, (1393 A. D.). According to these Rāsos, Hammīr gave shelter to one Mahim Śāh who had incurred the displeasure of the Sultān, because queen Chimnā Begum had bestowed her affection on the Mughal nobleman. According to the Muslim historian, Muhammad Śāh fled after the Jalore mutiny.³ In this case Vidyāpati's account contains a considerable amount of historical truth. In his fight against Alāuddin, Hammīr put up a strong defence and Raṇthambor was captured after one year's siege in 1301 A. D. It is said that when Alāuddin was on the point of departure, the two wicked ministers of Hammīr Rāyamāl and Rāmpāl gave him out the secret of their master's strength and weakness. This is corroborated by a Muslim source wherein we are informed that the fall of Raṇthambor was accelerated by his two ministers, Raṇamālā and Ratanpāl.⁴ Sarjana Śāh promised help

1. *Journal of Indian Art*, 1915-16, P. 36 fn.

2. Isāmi—*Futuḥa*—p. 263.

3. Another account states that the relation of conflict was that he had given shelter to some discontented "New Mussalmanas."

4. *JAFAR-UL-Vali*—P. 807—This is corroborated by the author *हम्मिर-महाकाव्य* where it has been pointed out that he was defeated on account of the defection of his two generals, रतिपाल and कृष्णपाल. Vide—*Ishwari Prasad Medieval India*—P. 195 fn.

to Alāuddin in the capture of his fort. Hammīr gave up his life. Muhammad Sāh and Khebru, grateful to the last to the Rājput king for his hospitality and sacrifice, fought side by side with their patron. A memorial tablet also says that the hero of Hammīr Mahākāvya was slain in 1301 A. D. ¹ No one of his family was captured alive. Ladies perished on the pyre. ² Ranthambor was captured in 1301. ³ Perhaps Vidyāpati has confused Raṇamala with Rāyamal. An interesting account of the siege has also been given by Amir Khuśrav. ⁴ The Maithil king Śakrasiṅgh is said to have helped the Sultān against Hammīr. He went with his minister Vireśvara and Devāditya to Alāuddin's court. This fact remains to be verified from other contemporary sources.

1. *Archaeological Survey Report* 1916-17, P. 20.

2. Harbilas Sarda--*Hammīr*-P. 44. *JIA*. (Quoted above).

3. *Tarikh-i-Alai*—Eliot III-P. 750.

4. P. Jha—*Op. Cit.* P. 119. For Mithila's relation with Alāuddin, see writer's Paper, "*Karnatas of Mithila*," quoted above.

APPENDIX-III

SOME IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS OF THE GANDHAVARIYA RAJAPUTAS

(From the Judgement of the District Court
in the Sonbarsa Raj Case).

Firman of Aurangzeb (April 1660).

Know ye the *Hukkam* (officers) high in rank and dignity, *amils* (revenue officers) and persons entrusted with the administration of pargana Nishankhpur appertaining to Sarkar Tirhut in the province of Bihar who have been exalted and elevated by Imperial favour.

The *gumasta* (agent) of Kesri Singh Zemindar of the said pargana having reached the threshold of the royal throne through Sanads made submission before his exalted and elevated Imperial Majesty that the *Zemindari* and *Rajagi* of the said pargana vested in Kesri Singh and that the Zemindars of the neighbourhood had for sometime been interfering with him (?). Therefore an elevated imperial order be passed to the effect that the *Zemindari* and the *Rajagi* of the said place are conferred on Kesri Singh..... It is desired that the *Jagirdars* and *Karoris* of the present and the future should try their best..... to keep the order in force for ever..... and they should on no account make alterations or changes in the rules of management there of..... and should not demand fresh *firman* and *parvana* and deviate from what is written.

Written on the 10th Ahan of Elahi Calendar in the 3rd of the reign.

II

There is a *parvana*, dated February 19, 1662, to Raja Bhagwan Singh of Bheet Bhagwanpur (Darbhanga).

III

Brahmottar Grant by Raja Keshri Singh dated August 14, 1663.

IV

Parvana to Raja Bhagwan Singh (February 8, 1672).....
Know ye, Raja Bhagwan Singh, best among your equals, the
seeker of kindness and favour !

The petition praying for the return of the *Chabutra* (?)
sent to respected Khaja Chaturbhuja Das Shikadar, has been
received and all its contents perused..... you should make
such efforts in making collections and payment of rents as to
be able to realise to a farthing the arrears of Kharif and
make timely assessment of the rabi crops and deposit the
same into the treasury. In this connection I shall be pleased
to favour you with rewards..... I am coming..... and am
taking along with me the robe of honour for you... .. by the
time of my arrival you will see that the first instalment of
assessed rent is realised in full..... dated the 19th shaval
1079 Hijri.....

V

Parvana to Raja Jagat Singh dated April 30, 1679. A sum
of rupees eight is given to you as reward on condition of
full realisation in the pargana. It is therefore written that
you shall appropriate Rupees Eight out of village Pranpur
year by year and realise to a farthing all the remaining just
dues in all the villages of the jagir mahal..... Dated the 29th
Rabi-ul-awal, 1090 Hijri.

VI

Parvana to the Amils and others of Pargana Dharour in
Sarkar Tirhut—26th May 1684.

Know ye, *amils, choudharies*, tenants and cultivators of
paragana Dharour, Sarkar Tirhut, the mahal Jagir of mine.

Whereas the entire authority in respect of the said pargana
has been conferred upon and is vested in Raja Jagat Singh.....
it is requisite that you should work in collaboration with
him so that the assesment of *Jama* for the next year may
be made and cultivation of the villages of the Jagirs by en-
joining upon all may be caused to be made as also on account
of the present dues and arrears may be prepared and collection
made. See that nobody disobeys the orders of the said

Raja..... if anybody would act against this, he would be taken to task. Should they act in contravention of the orders of the said Raja the latter would make a report there of and action would be taken against offenders on the said report..... 21 Jamadius-Sani 1091 Fasli.

VII

Paryana regarding the *Nankar* grant to Raja Bhagwan Singh and another—28th May 1685.

Know ye, the mutasaddis of affairs, present and future of Pargana Dharour, Sarkar Tirhut, in the province of Bihar.

Whereas under the Sanads of the former authorities and Malik Mohammed exercising authority of the Jagir Mahals, of high rank and dignity, a sum of Rupees one hundred has been fixed as *Nankar* grant upon Raja Bhagwan Singh and Raja Jagat Singh : now that the loyalty to the Sarkar and the work of expansion of population and cultivation in the pargana at the hands of Raja Yaswant Singh, son of Jagat Singh, son of Bhagwan Singh has come to the notice, the *Nankar* grant of rupees one hundred to the said noble is, as usual, *confirmed on condition of his loyalty and the work of increasing the population and cultivation in the paragana.* 15th Rajab, 1097 Hijri.

VIII

Chakband grant by Raja Ran Bhim Singh to Vidyanath Gossain—dated 8th November, 1692.

To Shri Vidyanath Gossain in *Gurudakshina* (fee given to a preceptor)

.....Shri Ran Bhim Singh, proprietor Zemindar, mauza Sihauli, pargana Uttarakhand, Sarkar Tirhut, appertaining Sube Bihar. I made *Chakband* (demorcation) of Three hundred and one bighas of brahmottara Tirat land in the said mauza after making it free of rent. *You shall cultivate it or get it cultivated* peacefully generation after generation.....

IX

Letter to Raja Yaswant Singh dated 23rd August 1699 (from Alamgir).

.....The fact of your devotion..... and the ill behaviour of your amils came to my light in perusal of your petition.....

You did not give any information with respect to the occurrences and facts of the pargana..... It was proper that the Zemindar himself should come and report all the happenings and facts of the pargana.....

X

Letter from Maharaja Raghava Singh to Shri Raj Kumar Himmat Singh—dated 1712-13 A. D.

Blessings from the most exalted and ever victorious Maharaja Raghava Singh to his only friend Raj Kumar Himmat Singh..... a man of most magnanimous character. I make over pargana Kabkhanda and Gaokhand to you. You are free to cultivate and rent according to your will. You should pay *mal fauzdari* according to custom. 1120 *Fasli*.

XI

Patta by Raja Dhir Singh to Raj Kumar Dalip Singh—dated June 10, 1716.

Kaul Karar *Patta* granted by Shri Shri Raja Dhir Singh on taking *Kabuliyat* from Raj Kumar Babu Dalip Singh of village Khori, pargana Dharour, Sarkar Tirhut. The said village has been granted to the said Babu with effect from the year *Fasli* 1124. It is requisite that *he should cultivate it or get it cultivated* peacefully and should appropriate..... all hububs there of year after year..... The said village is *Nankar* grant to me and I too have made a *Nankar* grant there of to the said Babu Sd. Dhir Singh.

XII

Parvana regarding *Nankar* grant to Raja Dhir Singh—dated June 3, 1723.

Know ye..... officers of the villages of Pargana Dharour Sarkar Tirhut—the Jagir Mahal of the high dignitary Ghulam Muhammad.

Whereas the loyalty of Raja Dhir Singh, the best of the equals and eminent personages came to light, he, *on condition of rendering faithful services*, has been given a *Nankar* grant of village Khori barkat with its dependency villages of the Jagir Mahals commencing from the Kharif fasal of 1130 *Fasli*. You should treat the village as *Nankar* grant of the said

Raja and *should not interfere the realisation of revenue (malwayuhat), extra charges (bilwajuhat) including all hububs with respect to the Jagirdari* so that he may peacefully appropriate the produce there of..... and *may always wholehertedly remain devoted to loyalty* and to payment revenue to the Sarkar by increasing cultivation and expansion of population. Dated 10th Ramzanul Mubarak of the 5th year of the reign—1135 Hijri.

XIII

Chakband grant by Raja Prahlad Singh to Nilambar the dated 11 October 1748.

XIV

Sanad in favour Raja Himmat Singh *Dated April 24, 1763.*
Seal—"1170, Mir Jafar Khan Bahadur, Servant of the Emperor Shah Alom, the victorious—Shujaulmulk Heshamud-daulla."—

Know ye, *Mutasaddis* of affairs, of pargana Kabakhanda, Sarkar Tirhut in the province of Bihar—

It appears that village Bijwara etc. the villages in the said pargana, were fixed upon Raja Alahdad Singh, Zamindar of the said pargana, as '*Nankar*' grant under the Sanads of the former authorities as per abstract therein. The above named Raja, having been dead, now in recognition of the faithful services of his son, Himmat Singh, the said grant is confirmed..... It is expected that you shall as usual leave in his enjoyment the said villages and *shall on no account offer him interference and obstruction ; so that being in enjoyment of the produce of the same he may peacefully remain prepared and ready for rendering faithful services to the government.* You should not demand a fresh Sanad every year. Treat it as urgent.

APPENDIX-IV

BY—RADHAKRISHNA CHOUDHARY

History of the Chakwars based on Records

Before passing on to the actual history of the Chakwars, as described in the Muslim and the Company records, it is better to throw some light on the actual extent of the Chakwar kingdom and also on such Chakwar kings about whom incidental reference is made here and there. The Chakwar kingdom extended to Rajmahal in the east and Darbhanga in the north. The traditional sources point out that their kingdom extended upto Pargana Chai in Thana Bihpur.¹ This particular fact is corroborated by the Muslim and other sources. It is stated that Raja of Purnea and other inhabitants of that part of the Chakwar tribe were refractory. As a protection against these chiefs the fort of Jalalgarh was erected and a commandant was posted there. Saif Khan was deputed to chastise the Raja of Birnagar and other malcontents of that part of the country. Refractory conduct on the part of Birshah induced Saif Khan to cross the Kosi. He succeeded in chastising the Raja of Birnagar. After this exploit, Parganas of Dhaphar, Nathpur, Dharampur and Govari, formerly attached to Sarkar Monghyr, were transferred to the Purnea jurisdiction.² Nawab Zafar Khan conferred the office of Zilla Purnea and that of Commandant of Jalalgarh upon him and also settled on him the pargana of Birnagar alias Dharampur, Gondwana, and also the mahals and jagirs forming an appendage to the office of the commandant of the above fort. The aforesaid Khan expelled Durjan Singh, son of Birshah, the Raja of Birnagar and brought the aforesaid Pargana under his subjection and having thoroughly chastised the other malcontents freed the road from all perils.³

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1. Narayan Shahi had established a Chakwar kingdom in Pargana Chai. (The present article was Published by the author in the *G. D. College, Bulletin Series* No. 3.
 2. Hunter' Statistical Account of Bengal Vol. XV. P. 222.
 3. A, Salam—"Riyaz-ur-salat" P. 36.

In the first half of the 18th century, the disintegration of Delhi Empire had set in. The drama of Mughal history moved with extraordinary rapidity. The provinces had begun to raise their head and within every province local chieftains took advantage of the chaotic political situation. Various kings and jagirdars ceased to pay taxes and attempted to extend their territory. By that time the Chakwars had become strong enough. That they had asserted independence is evident from the fact that they issued various land grants to various persons under their signatures and seals. Some such grants have been discovered by us. Out of the five grants, discovered so far, it appears that Raja Bakhtawar Singh of Samho granted 100 (hundred) bighas of land to one Harnath Tewari of Keonta near Dalsinghsarai (N. E. R.) in fasli 1135 (1726-27 A. D.). This shows that Bakhtawar Singh's sway extended at least upto Dalsinghsarai. We have the following grants of Raja Bakhtawar Singh—

(i) Land—grant issued in the fasli year 1127 (1718-1719 A. D.). It bears the signature of Raja Bakhtawar Singh and the official seal is in Urdu. It records the grant of ten bighas of land to a particular person in village Salha.

(ii) Land—grant issued in the fasli year 1131 (1722-1723 A. D.)—Other things same as in the previous grant.

(iii) Land—grant issued in the fasli year 1133 (1724-25 A. D.)—two lang-grants of that year have been discovered.

—These two have the seal (in Urdu) and signature of Raja Bakhtawar Singh—Raja Bakhtawar Singh's signature is generally in Kaithi script in all the land grants.

(iv) Land—grant issued in the fasli year 1135 (1726-27 A. D.)—records the grant of 100 bighas of land to one in Keonta near Dalsinghsarai (N. E. R.).

(v) There is one more land-grant, but its date is missing. In all these grants Raja Bakhtawar Singh is called "Maharaja Bakhtawar Singh Deva Devanam." The title indicates that he was not merely a feudal chief of a particular area but a real ruler of a territory, however small it may be. On the

basis of these five grants we can say that Raja Bakhtawar Singh was ruling between 1718 and 1727. If the year mentioned in the land-grants be taken as the Muslim Era, then there may be some difference in the fixation of equivalent English dates. He might have taken advantage of the chaotic political condition and asserted his independence. The Company records mention Bakhtawar Singh as the king of the Chakwars.¹ Thus it is evident that the Chakwar kings granted land to various classes of people for their maintenance. We have one more record of another Chakwar king² of granting land to a Muslim Fakir. From a grant, still preserved in a family, we learn that one Hajrat Makhdum Saiyed Sah Alauddin Bokhari came to Ballia in Hijri 900. There flourished in his family one Hajrat Saiyed Sah Mohiuddin Bokhari in the 1st half of the 18th century. He was a great saint and teacher. Raja Shivadatta Singh Chakwar was very much influenced by his personality. He was so much attached to this saint that he (Raja Shivadatta Singh) granted him 5229 bighas of land in village Ballia. The descendants of that fakir are still there. Raja Shivadatta Singh made this grant in the fasli year 1126 (1719-20 A. D.). This grant was respected by Allivardi and his successors and later on confirmed by the East India Company in 1828. His descendants enjoy this privilege even now.³ This confirmation of the grant by the later rulers shows that Raja Shivadatta Singh also enjoyed the independent status otherwise his grant would not have been honoured by the later rulers. We are told that Allivardi and his successors respected the charters granted by Bakhtawar Singh. We further learn that one Ruko Singh Chakwar, uncle of Raja Bakhtawar Singh, took advantage of the chaotic condition in Pargana Pharkiya. Pharkiya was inhabited by Dusadhs. In the 15th century, a Rajput named Bishwanath Rai was sent from Delhi to restore order in this

1. Wilson—Early Annals of English in Bengal Vol. III. P. 371.

2. I am grateful to my student Sahdeo Singh for this piece of information about Raja Shivadatta Singh Chakwar.

3. Cf—Safarnama Mazhari by Md. Halim Ansari P. 188.

part and ultimately the Zemindari devolved on his posterity. In the year 1730 Raja Kunjal Singh was a prominent Zemindar of that area. Taking advantage of his weakness, Ruko Singh plundered the country and treacherously murdered Raja Kunjal Singh.¹ The Chakwars had become sufficiently strong in this part of Monghyr by 1730.

The Company records are also full of materials relating to the Chakwars of Samho. Muhammad Shah ascended the throne of Delhi in 1719-20 A. D. By that time the strength of the Mughal empire had already become a thing of the past. The Britishers had started their trade vigorously in Bihar. In 1719 Edward Stephenson was appointed the chief of Patna with Thomas Falconer as his second. The Chakwars of Begusarai Sub-division had become very powerful and had asserted their independence. They defied the authority of the Subadar of Bengal and the Emperor of Delhi. They stopped payment of rent to the Government.² Their strength lay in the fact that they controlled the river-route (Ganges) from Monghyr to Patna. In those days river was the best trade route. They laid every thing, that passed on the river Ganges by Monghyr, under heavy contributions and thereby extorted a huge amount from the European traders. They did this simply to assert their independent status. They put to the European traders to annual heavy expense of a large armament to escort their boats carrying merchandise from and to Patna.³ In 1718 the Calcutta Council noted that they would require a strong party of a hundred men to send with their boats carrying treasure for the settlement of their factory there as the Chakwars had grown extremely powerful at Conna and other places during the vacancy of Subadarship.⁴ This also shows that as early as 1718 the Chakwars had asserted their independence and had become powerful enough

1. Hunter opt, cit. P. 18; Monghyr Gazetteer P. 243.

2. Riyaz—P. 36 and P. 296; Cf. Gladwin "A Narrative of the Transactions in Bengal" (1906) P. 79.

3. Holwell—Interesting Historical events P. 68-70. Cf. Dr. K. K. Datta "Allivardi and his times" PP. 14-5.

4. Wilson—opt. cit. P. 50.

to levy taxes on the European traders. The place, Conna, has not yet been rightly identified. Most probably it was Khanna near Warsaliganj police-station in Gaya district. On 27th August, 1719, Messrs Stephenson and Falconer of Patna wrote to the Calcutta Council from Chandi (?) on their way from Calcutta to Patna that they were twice attacked by the Chakwars who were very strong and had entrenched themselves by the river side. Chandi was at a distance of about thirty miles south-east of Patna. There was a fierce engagement for sometime between the European traders and the Chakwars but at length the Chakwars were driven from their entrenchments, many of them were killed and some were carried prisoners to Patna. On the side of the company a sergeant was killed and a drummer and a soldier wounded.¹ The Chakwars claim that they defeated the European traders on various occasions. Only July 11, 1720, Stephenson and Falconer wrote from Patna that the Chakwars "continue very strong" and requested for a strong party of soldiers.² On August 2, 1720, the Calcutta Council sent 200 European soldiers to guard the way to Patna as the Chakwars had "come to a great head" and that could at a little notice, double their numbers. By September 22, they succeeded in gathering together about 2500 horses and a great number of infantry, recruited from Buxar, and were "resolved to make an attempt" on the boats of the company.³ From a study of the reports, it appears that the situation was very tense and the Europeans were certainly very anxious over the problem. The contingent was sent under the command of Major Richard Hunt. On October 14, the safe arrival of the boats was reported.⁴

In Dec., 1720, Nasrat (Yar) Khan was appointed Governor of Bihar. He could not subdue the Chakwars. From the Chakwars records, it is evident that Chakwars were independent during his governorship. Bakhtawar had his own

1. Wilson—P. 153.

2. Wilson—P. 255.

3. Wilson—275.

4. Ibid—283.

official seal. Had he been under the Nawab, he must not have used his own official seal. In the month of March 1721, the Patna authority reported that the Chakwars had defeated a party of the horse sent by the Nawab. Upon this defeat, the Nawab had ordered 4000 horses against the Chakwars. The Chakwars, thereupon, evaded an engagement.¹ The Chakwars continued to be sufficiently strong and the Company's boat had to be carried with sufficient convoy. The company thought it better to augment the party of soldiers.² By 1721 Bakhtawar Singh had come to be recognised as the Raja of the Chakwars. Conna Raja was also very strong. Jungalsaw, a great leader, joined with Conna Raja and bordered upon the Chakwar country and joined his force with the Raja of the Chakwars, Bakhtawar Singh. This alliance alarmed the European traders and they prayed for more soldiers.³ In the month of October, Conna Raja was driven away by his own kinsmen. What happened afterwards is not actually known. From the Company records, it appears that the old brave Raja of the Chakwars died in 1730 and was succeeded by his son, a youth of seventeen years.⁴ Unfortunately the records do not give us the name of the king who died, and the name of the prince who succeeded him. Until further evidence is forthcoming, it is difficult to arrive at any conclusion on this particular point. This young prince, being influenced by the examples made of several Bihar Rajas, submitted to Allivardi.⁵ The Raja acknowledged the sway of the Delhi Emperor and subjection to the Subadar of Bengal. Here the tradition gives us a clue to the cause of the defeat of the Chakwars by Allivardi. It is said that an official (most probably his Rajpandita) of Bakhtawar Singh betrayed him and gave out the secret to Allivardi on a promise of Rs. 30/-per month by the latter to the former.

1. Ibid—325.

2. Ibid—353.

3. Ibid—P. 371.

4. Holwell Opt. Cit. 69-70.

5. Riyāz—P. 296; Holwell, 69-70.

After his victory, Allivardi granted a *Sanad* to that man confirming his promise of the said amount and that Sanad was honoured by Company later on. A frantic search is being made to find out that document, because that will show how treacherously Allivardi defeated the Chakwar Raja. It is known to all that treachery was one of the main traits of Allivardi's character. After the defeat of the Chakwars, an annual tribute was stipulated and was regularly paid for four years. A spot was fixed on thirty miles from the capital of the Chakwars (Samho) where the prince met every year Nawab's officer on a certain day and it was agreed upon that they should have only thirty attendants on each side.¹ Holwell writes that heads of thirty Chakwars, who had gone to pay tribute to Allivardi, were severed and were sent back home and at the same time their capital was sacked and burnt.² This particular point is also preserved in the traditional history. Allivardi is said to have granted Sanad to many Chakwar chiefs for various purposes.

The brave old Raja who died in 1730 must have been some other man than Bakhtawar Singh because we find that Allivardi, after having subdued the refractory Chief of Bihar, secured adhesion of a large number of Hindu-Muslim generals including one Bakhtawar Singh.³ It seems probable that after being subdued by Allivardi, Bakhtawar Singh entered into friendship with Allivardi Khan and helped him in his consolidation of power. One Bakht Singh is mentioned as an ally of the Nawab⁴ who led an expedition against the Raja of Tirhut. No last word can be said on the subject as materials are daily coming to light. A through search for the Chakwar's manuscripts is necessary.

1. Holwell—69-70.

2. Holwell—70-71.

3. Riyaz—P. 311.

4. Lalkavi's description of the battle of Kandarpal Ghat (in Maithili).

APPENDIX—V

THE SUBAH OF BIHAR

(Extract from *Ain-i-Akbari*)

It is situated in the second climate. Its length from Gadhi to Rhotas is 120 kos, its breadth from Tirhut to the northern mountains, 110 kos. On its eastern boundary is Bengal; to the west lie Allahabad and Oudh. On the north and south it is bounded by hills of considerable elevation. Its chief rivers are the Ganges and the Son. Whatever of wood or leather and the like falls into the Son becomes petrified. The head springs of these three rivers, the Son, the Narbada and the Johila, bubble up from a single reedbed in the neighbourhood of Gadha (Mandla). The Son is pleasant to the taste, wholesome and cool; flowing in a northerly direction, it joins the Ganges near Maner. The Gandak flows from the north and unites with the Ganges near Hajipur. Such as drink of it suffer from a swelling in the throat (goitre) which gradually increases, especially in young children, to the size of cocoanut.

The Śāligrāma is a small black stone which the Hindus account among divine objects and pay it great veneration. It is round and small and unctuous, they hold it in the highest regard and according to the variety of its form, different names and properties are ascribed to it. The generality have a single perforation, others more and some are without any. They contain gold ore. Some say that a worm is bred within which eats its way through; others maintain that it works its way in from the outside. The Hindus have written a considerable work on the qualities of this stone. According to the Brahmanical creed, every idol that is broken loses its claim to veneration, but with these, it is not so. They are found in the Son for a distance of 40 kos between its northernmost extremity and the south of the hills.

The Karmanāśā flowing from the south unites with the Ganges near Chausa. Its waters are regarded with aversion. The Pūnpun flows also from the south and joins the Ganges

near Patna. The smaller rivers of this Subah cannot be recorded. The summer months are intensely hot, while the winter is temperate. Warm garments are not worn for more than two months. The rains continue during six months and throughout the year the country is green and fertile. No severe winds blow nor clouds of dust prevail. Agriculture flourishes in a high degree, especially the cultivation of rice which for its quality and quantity is rarely to be equalled. Kisari is the name of a pulse, resembling peas, eaten by the poor, but is unwholesome. Sugarcane is abundant and of excellent quality. Betel-leaf, especially the kind called Maghi, is delicate and beautiful in colour, thin in texture, fragrant and pleasant to the taste. Fruits and flowers are in great plenty. At Maner, a flower grows named Muchakand, somewhat like the flower of the Dhatura, very fragrant and found nowhere else. Milk is rich in quality and cheap. The custom of dividing the crops is not very prevalent. The husbandman pays his rents in person and on the first occasion presents himself in his best attire. The houses for the most part are roofed with tiles. Good elephants are procurable in plenty and boats likewise. Horses and camels are scarce. Parrots abound and a fine species of goat of the Barbary breed which they castrate, from their treme fatness they are unable to walk and are carried on litters. The fighting cocks are famous. Game is abundant. Gilded glass is manufactured here.

In the Sarkar of Bihar, near the village of Rajgir is a quarry of stone resembling marble, of which ornaments are made. Good paper is here manufactured. Gaya the place of Hindu pilgrimage, is in this province, it is also called Brahma Gaya being dedicated to Brahma. Precious stones from foreign ports are brought here and a constant traffic carried on.

In the Sarkar of Hajipur the fruits Kathal and Barhal grow in abundance. The former attain such a size that a man can with difficulty carry one.

In the Sarkar of Champaran the seed of vetch Mash is cast on unploughed soil where it grows without labour or tilling. Long pepper grows wild in its forests.

Tirhut has from immemorial time been a seat of Hindu learning. Its climate is excellent. Milk curds keep for a year without alteration. If those who sell milk adulterate it with water, some mysterious accident befalls them. The buffaloes are so savage that they will attack a tiger. There are many lakes and in one of them the water never decreases, and its depth is unfathomable. Groves of orange trees extend to a distance of thirty kos, delighting the eye. In the rainy season gazelle and deer and tiger frequent together the cultivated sports and are hunted by the inhabitants. Many of these with broken limbs are loosened in an enclosure, and they take them at their leisure.

Rohtas is a stronghold on the summit of a lofty mountain, difficult to access. It has a circumference of 14 kos and the land is cultivated. It contains many springs, has wherever the soil is excavated to the depth of three or four yards, water is visible. In the rainy season many lakes are formed, and more than two hundred waterfalls gladden the eye and ear. The climate is remarkably healthy.

This Subah contains seven Sarkars subdivided into 199 Parganahs. The gross revenue is 22 crores, 19 lakhs 19,424½ dams (Rs. 55, 47, 985-1-3). Of these Parganahs, 138, pay revenue in cash from corps charged at special rates. The extent of measured land is 24 lakhs, 44,120 bighas, yielding a revenue of 17 crores, 26 lakhs, 81,774 dams (Rs. 43,17,944) in cash. The remaining 61 Parganahs are rated at 4 crores, 22 lakhs, 37,630½ dams (Rs. 12, 30, 940-12-5) out of which 22 lakhs, 71,174 dams are Suyurghal (Rs. 56, 803-8-10). The province furnishes 11,415 Cavalry, 449,350 Infantry and 100 boats.

Sarkar of Bihar

Containing 46 Mahals, 952, 598 Bighas, Revenue, 80, 196, 390 dams in cash from special corps, and from land paying the general bigha rate. Suyurghal, 2279, 147 dams. Caste various. Cavalry 2115. Infantry 67,350.

	Bishas and Biswas.	Revenue Dam.	Cav.	Inf.	Suyursh- al Dam.	Caste
Arwal	57,089-5	426,780	—	1000	—	—
Aukhri (? Khokri)	49,401-10	3,747,946	—	—	—	—
Ikhal	40,404-4	335,260	—	200	—	Afgan & Brahman
Amritu	24,387-19	1,821,333	—	—	16035	Do
Anbalu	—	847,920	—	250	—	Brahman
Anchha	10,290-57	6,700-000	20	300	—	Afgan
Antri	1,998-9	147,980	20	200	—	Kayath
Behar with suburban district						
has a fort of stone and brick	70,683-9	5,534,151	10	400	653200	—
Bahlawar	48,310-3	3,651,640	—	500	9000	Brahman
Basok	35,318-18	2,706,539	—	300	1,708,130	Shaikhzadah
Palach	30,030-18	2,270,538	—	500	59,185	Brahman
Balia	26,030-18	2,056,502	20	400	85,747	Rajput
Patna has two forts, one of brick and the other of mud	21,846-8	1,922,430	—	—	131,807	—
Phulwari	20,225-19	1,585,420	20	700	118,120	Rajput
Pahra	12,285-6	951,160	20	400	18,560	Brahman
Bhimpur	19,862-15	824,584	—	—	24,424	—

	Bishas and Biswas	Revenue Dam.	Cav.	Inf.	Suyurshal Dam.	Caste
Pandarak	—	727,640	300	2000	—	—
Tiladah	39,053-12	2,920,366	20	300	232,080	Shaikhzada.
Jarar	12,930-10	979,363	50	500	880	Do.
Chargaon	—	924,440	20	300	—	Brahman
Jai champa	—	620,000	20	600	—	—
Dadar	—	262,500	—	—	—	—
Dhakner	—	215,680	—	—	—	—
Rub	—	250,100	20	1500	—	Brahman
Rampur	—	363,820	—	—	—	—
Rajsir	3,756-12	288,228	—	—	17,225	—
Sanot	36,780-7	2,824,180	20	500	—	—
Samai	32,514-3	2,537,080	10	200	62,380	Kayath
Sahrah	—	2,079,000	—	500	—	Rajput
Sandah	24,562-2	1,889,956	—	500	—	Afgan
Seor, has a strong fort on a hill	14,145-8	1,250,591	200	5000	—	Brahman
Ghiaspur	84,205-7	5,657,290	—	—	227,454	—
Gidhaur has a strong fort on a hill in the jungle.	—	1,452,500	250	10,000	—	Rajput
Katihabra	—	737,540	—	—	—	—

Kabar	7,409-9	560,875	30	700	—	Kayath
Guh	—	374,880	100	1000	—	Rajpur
Ghatisar	—	360,820	—	—	—	—
Karanpur	—	363,820	—	—	—	—
Gaya	951-4	74,270	—	—	14,235	—
Muner	89,039-15	7,049,179	—	—	325,389	—
Masodha	68,191-10	4,631,080	—	—	—	—
Maldah	28,128-9	2,151,575	100	3000	49,805	Brahman
Manroa	7,706-9	585,500	20	500	—	Do.
Maher	28,937-19	1,779,540	—	200	47,700	Do.
Narhat	39,555-7	2,380,	5	200	—	Kayath

Sarkar of Monghyr

Containing 38 Mahals, Revenue 109, 625, 981 $\frac{1}{2}$ Dams,
Castes various, 2,150 Cavalry, 50,000 Infantry.

Revenue D.

Abbipur	2,000,000
Osla	89,760
Bhagalpur	4, 696,110
Balia	3, 287,320
Pahariah	3,000,000
Pathrarab	140,920
Basai	132,000
Tanur	88,420
Chai	9,280,000
Chandoi	360,000
Dharampur	4,000,000
Daud Sakhwarah	136,000
Rohni	95,360
Sarohi	1,773,000
Sukhdehra	690,240
Sashwuli	360,000
Angu	147,800
Anbalu	50,000
Surajgarh	299,445
Sakhrasani	160,000
Satyari	58,730
Kahalgaon	2,800,000
Kharhi	689,044
Kozrah	260,602
Khatki	160,000
Lakhanpur	633,280
Masjidpur	1,259,750
Monghyr and Suburban	
District	808,907 $\frac{1}{2}$
Masdi	29,725
Hindui	108,000
Nazer taki	9,182

Sarkar of Champaran

Containing 3 Mahals, 85, 711 Bighas, 5 Biswas, Revenue 5,513,420 Dams, Horsemen. 700, Infantry 30,0000

	B.	&	B.	Dams
Samrun	7200	,,	2	500,095
Mehsi	56095	,,	7	3,518,435
Majhora	22,415	,,	16	1,424,890

Sarkar of Hajipur

Containing 11 Mahals, 10 villages, 436,952 Bishas, 15 Biswas, Revenue 27,331,930 Dams.

	B.	&	B	Ravenue.
Akbarpur	3,366	,,	17	1,95,040
Boswawi	10,851	,,	14	624,791
Basara	106,370	,,	7	6,380,000
Balaseschah	14,638	,,	2	913,660
Teghra	52,306	,,	13	3,833,460
Rati	30,438	,,	13	1,824,980
Saresal	102,461	,,	8	6,704,300
Imadpur	12,987	,,	7	795,870
Garhsarah		,,		876,200
Naipur	27,877	,,	9	1,663,980

Sarkar of Saran

Containing 17 Mahals, Measured land 229,052 Bishas, 15 Biswas, Revenue 62,172,004 $\frac{1}{2}$ Dams Castes Various, Cavalry 1,000, Infantry 50,000

	B.	&	B.	Dams.
Indar	7,218	,,	4	534,990
Barari	7,117	,,	10	533,820
Narhan	8,611	,,	8	654,508
Pachlakh	9,266	,,	15	437,997
Chanend	3,413	,,	13	633,270
Chanbara				400,000
Juwainah	6,963	,,	8	309,285
Dessi	5,825			277,630
Sipah	3,662			290,592

	B.	&	B.	Dams.
Pal	66,320	„	5	4,892,272
Bara	15,059	„	3	383,797½
Godah (Gawa ?)	28,049	„	3	2,012,950
Kalyanpur	17,427			774,606
Kashmir	16,915			1,314,539
Manjhi	3,752	„	19	611,813
Mandhal	9,405	„	7	692,110
Maker	10,930	„	14	211,095

Sarkar of Tirhut

Containing 74 Mahals, Measured land 266,464 Bishas
2 Biswas, Revenue 19,179,777½ Dams, Castes various, Cavalry
700, Infantry 80,000

	B.	&	B.	Dams.
Ahaspur	4,880	„		302,550
Utarkhand	2,068	„		128,412
Ahlwar	1,001	„	1	62,212
Aubhi				60,000
Aumhara	836	„	15	53,980
Athais	559	„	17	34,356
Basri & C. 4 Mahals.		„		1,125,000
Bahrwarah	16,176	„		942,000
Banpur	40,347	„		294,792
Barel	6,185	„		789,858
Pepra	1,823	„	18	112,591
Paḍri	9,048	„		554,268
Basotra	8,864	„		546,627
Panchhi (Bachhi)	5,216	„		361,920
Bahnor	5,033	„		289,773½
Bachhnor	6,916	„		275,135
Pachham (Bhasa)	4,095	„		271,826
Basda	3,716	„		267,862½
Purab Bhagu	3,022	„	17	222,288
Pandra jah	3,135	„	4	195,337½
Bhadi Bhosadi	2,823	„		175,585
Bhala	2,247	„		145,437

	B.	&	B.	Dams.
Bhadwar	2,087	,,		130,471 $\frac{1}{2}$
Parharpur	1,963	,,		121,067 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bahadurpur	1,936	,,	16	119,305
Barari	1,452	,,	12	90,369 $\frac{1}{2}$
Parhar Rashu	1,303	,,	17	81,605
Bhaura	1,170	,,	9	69,608
Balwaab	1,060	,,	9	65,628
Bora	275	,,	15	55,757
Banwa				40,539
Parharpur Jabdi	604	,,	14	37,736
Bowi	505	,,	5	31,550
Bochhawar	128	,,	10	12,875
Bharsheni	200	,,	12	12,095
Tarani	7,171	,,		443,242
Tilokchawand	2,411	,,	7	149,896
Tajpur	1,351	,,	14	85,434
Tandah	1,038	,,	4	63,768
Tarson	980	,,	4	61,120
Tirhut with suburban distt.	21,398	,,		1,307,706
Jakhar	17,140	,,		1,068,020
Jarayal	8,297	,,		515,732
Chakmani	5,173	,,		321,326
Jakhal (Pur)	3,092	,,		196,029
Jabdi		,,		45,025
Dahror	3,165	,,		202,818
Darbhangha	2,038	,,		159,052
Ramjaund	7,409	,,		470,005 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sareshta	15,474	,,		941,010
Salimpur	458	,,	14	29,094
Salimabad	44	,,	15	4,184
Sanjoli Tadra	2,450	,,		150,843 $\frac{1}{2}$
Alapur	8,796	,,		442,466
Fakhrabad	1,170	,,	6	72,355
Khanauli	4,644	,,		408,804
Gharchawand	5,510	,,		349,480 $\frac{1}{2}$
Kodakhand	3,888	,,		243,677

	B.	&	B.	Dams.
Koradi	"	"		90,000
Khanda	330	"	6	21,443
Ladwari	2,609	"		142,495
Mahla	15,299	"		946,048
Morwah	8,283	"		515,485
Mandah (Mahend)	1,077	"	12	66,693
Marsa	"			
Marga (Narangal)	632	"	18	39,022
Malahni	151	"	1	9,728
Nauram	"	"		288,140
Nautan	3,381	"	7	209,153
Hathi	2,563	"	18	159,790 $\frac{1}{2}$
Harni	796	"	17	54,342
Habi (Hali)	3,665	"	8	230,700

Sarkar of Purnea

Containing 9 Mahals, Revenue 6,408,775 dams Infantry 5000

Asonja	734,225
Jairampur	467,785
Suburban District of Purainiya	2,686,995
Dalmalpur	671,530
Sultanpur	522,206
Chiripur	390,200
Sair duties from elephants	85000
Kathiyari	590,100
Kadwan	280,592



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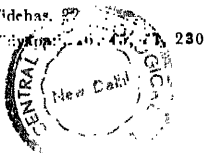
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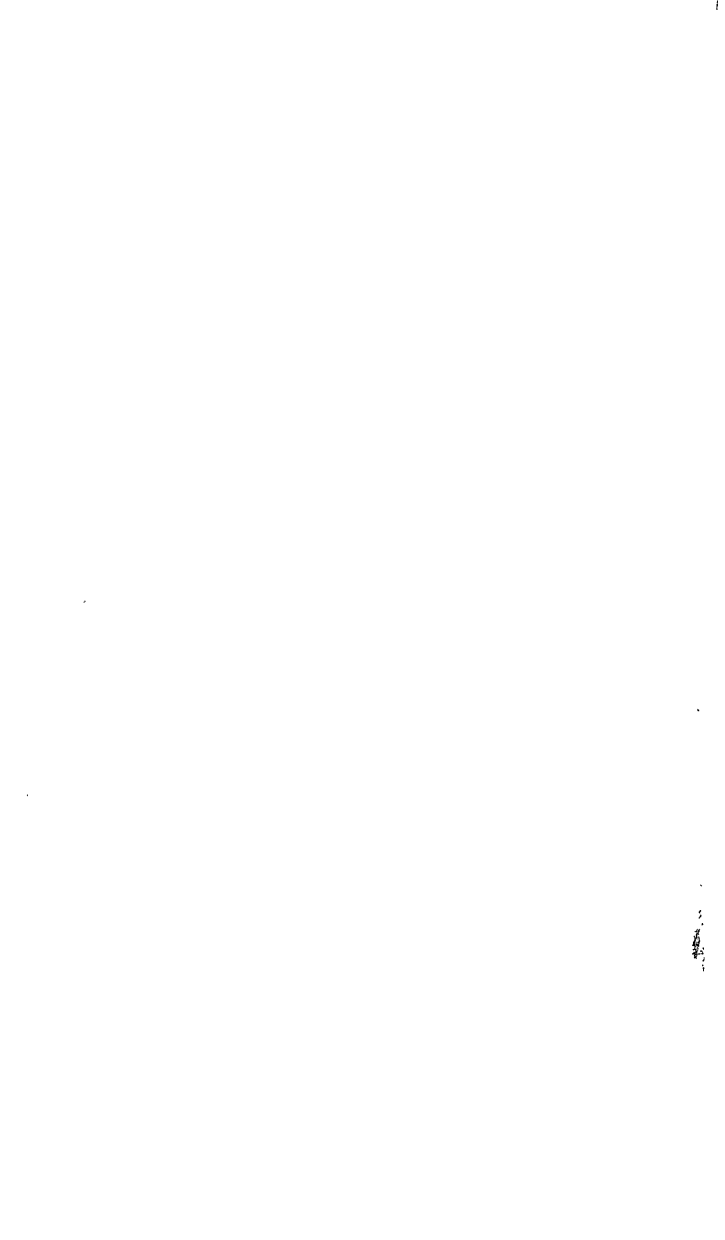
PLATES

(a-h)

BASĀTINUL-UNS

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کوش که کسی هم وز زکات چاهد

خجرات نری آنکه در حال کمال

بکم بخت آفرید و بختی حسان

زلف غنچه نو گوید نه از بهر حکم

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مطالعہ کردی و حوادث متناسف ایام۔ اربع المرجع الروافضی

کتابخانه عمومی و اسناد و کتابخانه ملی جمهوری اسلامی ایران

در این دوران مراد از دولت کجاست؟

وہی ہے جس کا نام حسین ہے۔ موت ذاتِ ہر وقت کا ہر لمحہ

ملکوت الحق نہاد و وسیع شود و حقیقت را آب بیدار و مادر کبریا طلایند

و من بعد من خطب نمازگویی است که در آنست که می فرماید

وہی کہ جس نے اس کی شہادت کی ہے وہی کہ جس نے اس کی شہادت کی ہے

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کتابخانه انصوری شدی مانند دامن خیمه در لوله افشاده چون کتابخانه

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خوگاہ ترکھانن جهان روشن پیش چشم او سجود و تارکینست

سپاہ مہابت بر قلب او چنان تاختن آورد کہ سر رشته مذہب را

دست عقل کار پر دوزخش برفت و در سوراخ حصار کلفی

موتی شد سبوت و اختر غریب از سرخ آسمان سای آن دلش



شرکان را که با تمام حاکمهای اسب و پشه‌های کشتن بر خار و لب
 آبهای غلیظ تراب بکار در حصون حصین و قلاع متین چون در در
 درج صد ف جمع آمده بودند شراب شیرای هندی چون آبل
 فرعون در قعر تحیم فرستاد و سمهای زهری خنجر حش دریا
 بر شش از خون دل کفار لعین بسان یا قوت رمانی کرد و آید
 عجب تیغ نو آید که هر دم در زخم نزار جان بر باد و لب زخم زبان
 شفت نیست ز بس جانها که درین شود که هر چه خنجر با بدویت جاودان
 شال تیغ تو بر کوه اگر نکشند کند و مرگم که نقش از زبان
 و زخم بخت نهایی بسود ز آب خاک از آبهای بیکجا نمشود و ملا
 مان کردیش و بیک جان را باز نهایی طبقه جانان در صحرائی آن کو غنای
 و بر جان پیدا آورد چون تیرا نو مرگ در دست آید
 خود را از تیر تو بزدن شک نیست و با نغمه از قدمان و با تیر و نشان
 آن بلاد که فرمان ندهش را طوق کردن و عقوبت کوشش باشند با آن عدل و
 احسان بر ایشان بارید و زیادت از آنجا از دیانت سپاه و غیر آن باشند
 اشخاص و او درین بقوه و مصالح بر دوش اود است نظام بر دوش دل بر کوه
 را از جانب نمیدانند شفت آن فراخی تمام حاصل آرد و نمیرانان را از برای
 ضبط اطراف و کشف آن و زره قاتل نماید

چو کفن ز باد و خزان هر کجا گزینی بود ز باد و کز سر اندازد او کسیر نه درخت
 مسطره و مضروب با حصول صفای سعادت در ادوات نون و سعادت
 در فلک طویل غایت از نهایت آبی سبزه شمع ابواب شمع نهنگ
 بر موب در ملک علی که شمع غایت بلند پای عطف و مرکز سعادت و عطف
 است عزیزت مرا جنت معصوم که در ایند و بدست نزدیک

بروز فرخ دولت ز زاری یونان نهاد روی سوی شمع غروب جلال
 بشع که سعادت جان خود مسعود بطلای کردنان بخت بیکم کرد فال
 جواش کشت او غیر مالک شرق برای شمع ز تابید از دست حال
 فلانگاه شاه الصدیق مؤت کا بنسیر به یفتی عطف الکایم
 و انفع نعمه المجد یفتی زید کافتم مضرب بالقیوت التولجیم

و ساعده غلامان در بی محاسن و نسق بدستک ایما قلوبنا الصراغ
 در وقتی که خمر و انجم در عروس عالم آشکار شد بود و جرم زمین از تاب شبانه

اد و تصفیه کرمی

هوای و وزخ نشان میداد و شمع کوه که از مرغ را بر روی هوا و
 در خمر و با محرق بیکلایه و با قوت در نهانی کان بن شمع و کند
 می آمد در درید و در غور کبر کوان آب میشد و رنگ رحمان از شبانه و می حکایت
 بکوه و غنچه شمع طبع غرق خویش بکشت و در غنای میشد روان جان
 در روان می نشاند و کشیدن بکشد بر تن و در میدان از بخت مصطفی بعد از تابش

پرنسپل فرسٹ ریاستیہ ایڈوانسڈ اسکول، کراچی

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برسد سراج نواز حسین کہ اگر وہ منی انڈیا کے کسی گھرانے سے تعلق رکھتی ہو تو

حداقل یک روز پس از این زمین زلزلیم کردن شروع کرده است و در این وقت

از پنجم آیت ما را خبر دادند که در میان عرض و کلام که کرده

وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ

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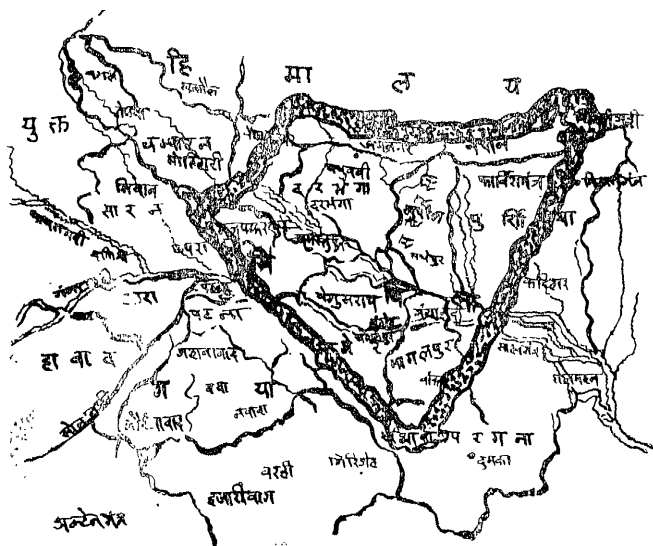
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PLATE II

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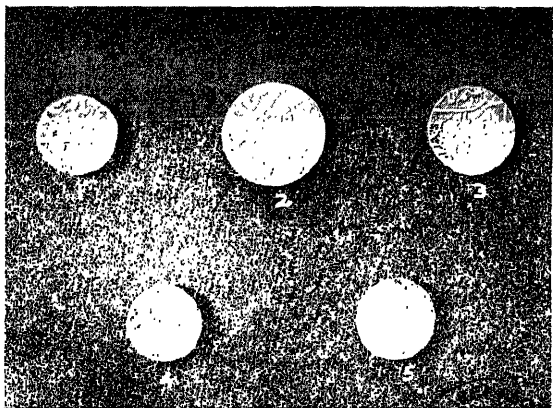
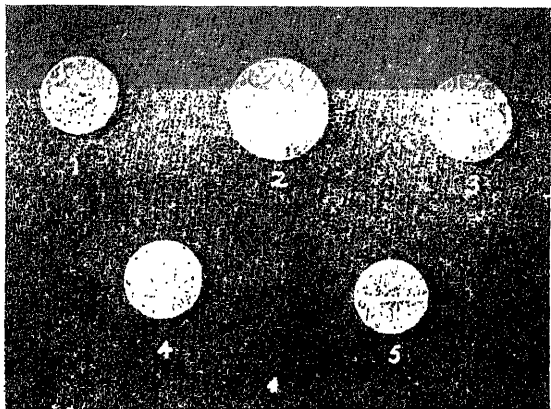
PLATE III



Sketch Map of Mithila

PLATE IV

Muslim Coins From North Bihar



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